ESSENTIAL STATISTICS

131 The Maltese Islands - Land Area 121.850 sq. miles, Population 323,667[1].
161 Malta - Land Area 94.876 sq. miles, Population 296,093[1].
Gozo and Comino - Land Area 26.974 sq. miles, Population 27,659[1].

162 A. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION[2]

463

(i)	Civil Government	17,050
	Service Departments	22,480
(ii)	Agriculture, Fishing and Quarrying	9,130
	Manufacturing	9,030
	Construction	7,220
(iii)	Wholesale and Retail Trades	10,920
	Transport and Communications	3,850
	Insurance, Banking, etc.	550
	Gas Service	90
(iv)	Recreation and Personal Services	7,250
	Community and Business Services	1,140
	Total	88,710

433 B. PRODUCTION[1]

Gross Domestic Product 1957	£m.	36.1
Gross Industrial Production 1957	"	10.036
Gross Agricultural Product 1957	"	5.008

439 C. TRADE[3]

(i) Commodities (value in £m)

	Imports	Exports	Re-exports
Food, Drink, Tobacco	9.411	.547	.549
Raw materials and materials mainly unmanufactured	3.227	.312	1.307
Articles wholly or mainly manufactured	13.215	.132	.404
Miscellaneous and unspecified	2.862	.005	.339
Bullion and Specie	.104	-	-
	28.820	.995	2.600

(ii) Direction of Trade (%)

	Imports	Exports
Sterling Area	49.3	41.1
Dollar Area	7.2	.8
O. E. E. C.	33.5	10.4
Other	10.0	2.1
Ships and Aircraft Stores	-	45.6
	100	100

(iii) Balance of Trade

	Imports	Exports & Re-exports	Negative Balance
	Million £		
1949	15.312	1.038	14.274
1954	20.407	2.879	17.528
1958	28.820	3.595	25.225

(Since 1948 the adverse trade balance has increased by an average of 4.7% per annum)

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961

EZ6 Malta EZ6

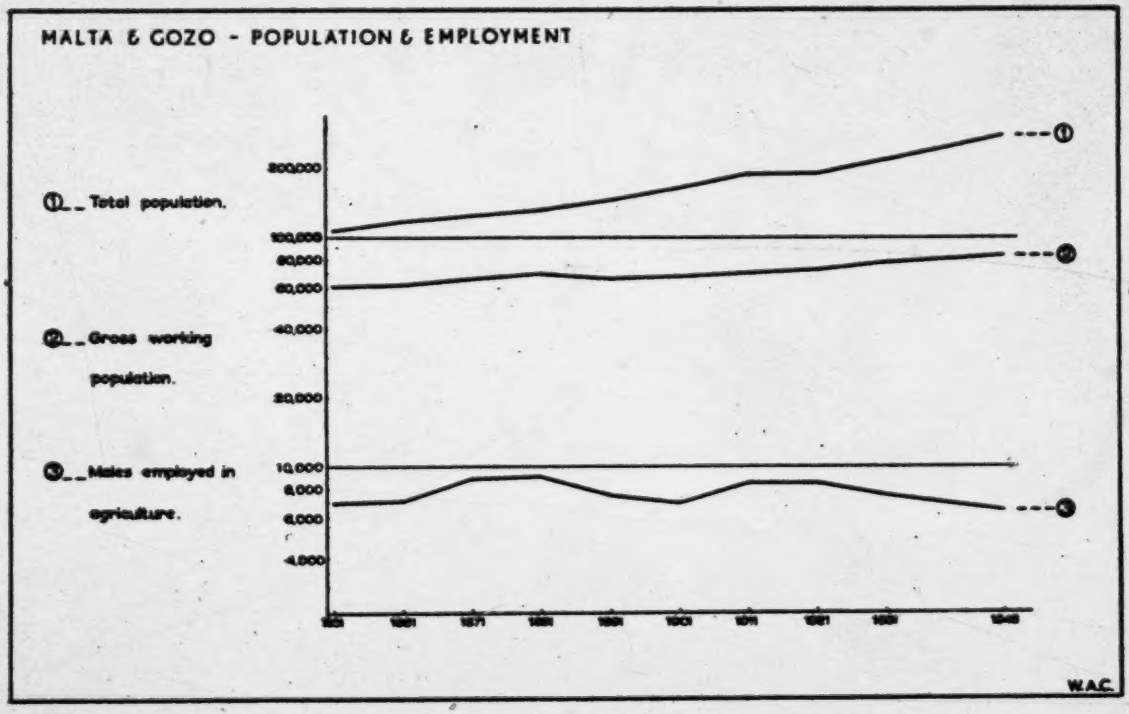

Fig. 31 Malta and Gozo, Population and Employment.

[p. 118-B]

* 175
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1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

[P. 133]

Chapter VI

MODERN MALTA

A. Population and Migration

It is common knowledge that the Maltese Islands now possess a population which is extremely large relative to the territorial area. Polemical discussion of the implications of the situation has generally been based on two assumptions. The first is that the present size of the population is wholly a consequence of a simple vital revolution which occurred during British rule in the nineteenth century. The second assumption is that this vital revolution is almost over and that falling birthrates will stabilise the population at a new and higher level. These assumptions are erroneous. The brief study that follows (based on a full-scale investigation of many types of source material by M. Richardson and others), attempts to show the true characteristics of Maltese demography.

175* 161 114

THE POPULATION BEFORE 1842

175* 162

Table 24. Estimates of population A.D. 991 to 1842.

	I. MALTESE		II. NON-MALTESE		III. TOTAL
	Malta	Gozo	The Knights	Other	
(1) 991					21,000
(2) 1240	3,800	1,800			5,600
(3) 1400					10,000
(4) 1528	12,000	5,000			17,000
(5) 1530	15,000	5,000	5,000		25,000
(6) 1565	19,500	2,500	9,000		31,000
	17,500	2,500	3,000		23,000
(7) 1582	20,000				
(8) 1590	28,864		3,426		32,290
(9) 1632	45,450	3,000	4,450		52,900
(10) 1741					110,000
(11) 1760	66,800				
(12) 1798	90,000	24,000			114,000
(13) 1807	80,225	12,829		22,100	115,154
(14) 1813	86,403	14,400			110,803
(15) 1823					112,204
(16) 1828	88,618	15,618		1,709	115,945
(17) 1837	98,958	16,822		4,398	119,878
(18) 1842	97,535	14,330		1,999	113,864

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

nuclei. Table 37 below shows how in numerical terms the regional population balance changed. It will be observed that the proportion of people living in the diminishing rural area remained remarkably constant, although as already noted in Chapter V, a growing number of these were not farmworkers. Equally noteworthy is the decline in residential importance of the urban nucleus compared with the rise of the suburbs, producing a complete proportional reversal between 1842 and 1956 (Fig. 41).

Table 37. Percentage distribution of population, Island of Malta.

	1842	1861	1881	1901	1921	1948	1956
Urban Districts	50.6	48.0	43.3	33.2	28.2	12.6	14.5
Suburban Districts	14.5	17.4	23.1	33.1	39.2	52.6	50.9
Rural Districts	34.9	34.6	33.6	33.7	32.6	34.8	34.6

Within this main pattern of distributional change, other small-scale but significant trends may be discerned. Among the urban areas (Fig. 42), Valletta's population was decreasing as early as 1842-51, but in other districts the decline did not set in until after 1871, while Senglea and Kospikwa continued to grow, albeit slowly, until 1911. During the Second World War, decline in numbers was most marked in the Three Cities while the population of Floriana actually increased. Since 1948, there has been a reversal of these trends, the populations of Senglea and Kospikwa growing more rapidly than that of Floriana, while Valletta and Vittoriosa showed little or no increase.

The most noteworthy distinction among suburban localities has been the differences between the older and newer centres (Fig. 43). Birkirkara, Qormi, Żabbar and Tarxien have all shown a slower rate of growth than the other nine localities, although in the case of Tarxien, now contiguous with the newer settlement of Pawla, increase has been quite rapid. The growth of Pawla, Hamrun, Sliema and St. Julian's has been the most striking feature of the period since the first Census. In 1842, these hamlets had less than 1,000 inhabitants while in 1956, they were the home of some 70,000 people, half the suburban population and one-quarter of that of the whole of Malta. The stagnation of Kalkara further illustrates the fact that second-stage suburban growth has been concentrated around and beyond Marsamxett Harbour rather than near the commercial and naval Grand Harbour.

Among rural areas too (Fig. 44) growth has been most rapid in the newer and largely non-agricultural settlements such as Marsaxlokk, Birżebbuga and St. Paul's Bay. A few villages, including Żurrieq, Kirkop and Mosta, showed rapid gains between 1901 and 1911 but lost a great deal of ground in the following decade when their rate of growth was much smaller than that of the newer settlements mentioned above.

In Gozo (Fig. 45), the largest villages have grown least in recent years while smaller ones, such as Żebbuġ, have gained more rapidly. However, unlike Malta, Gozo shows no great gains among the newer centres. San Lawrenz, for example, was created a parish in 1901 but suffered a steady decline in population from that date until 1948.

SEX AND AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

From 1842 onward an excess of females over males has been characteristic of the population of the Islands (Fig. 46). Masculinity, as measured by the male: female ratio, has been consistently higher in Malta than in Gozo. All the evidence suggests that this is a result of the persistent character of male emigration from the smaller island, whether to Malta or further afield. Within Malta some characteristic trends are observable. The masculinity of the urban districts has closely followed, though at a lower level, that of Malta as a whole.

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

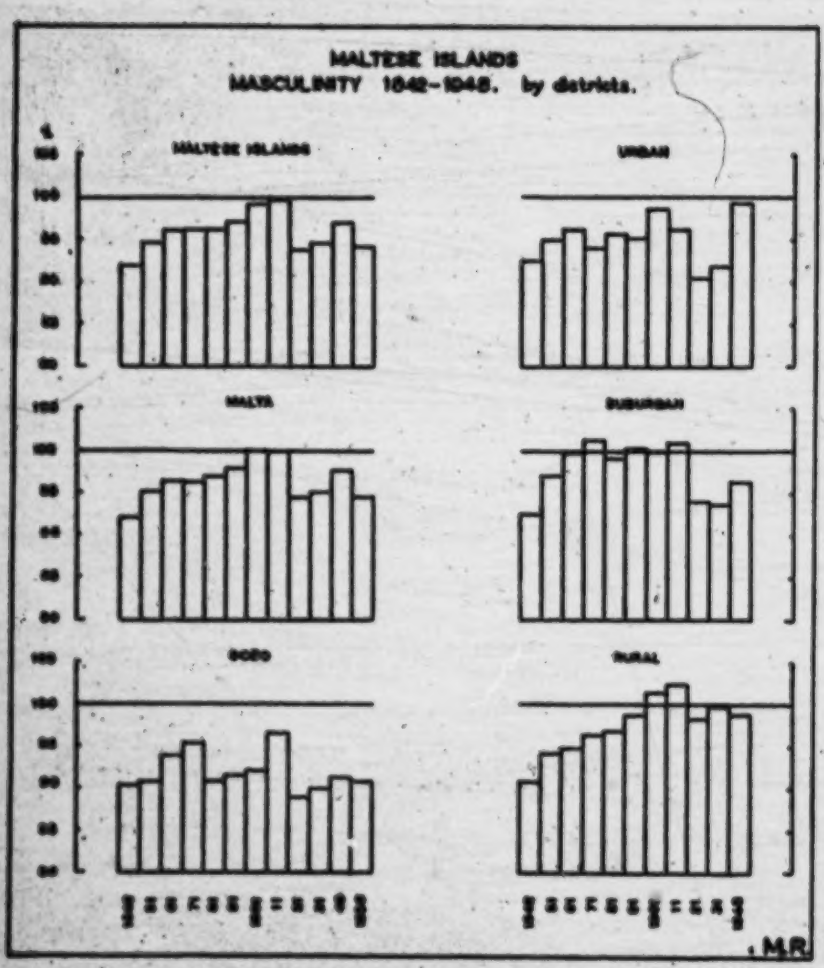

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Fig. 46 Maltese Islands: Masculinity, 1842-1948, by Districts.

[p. 145-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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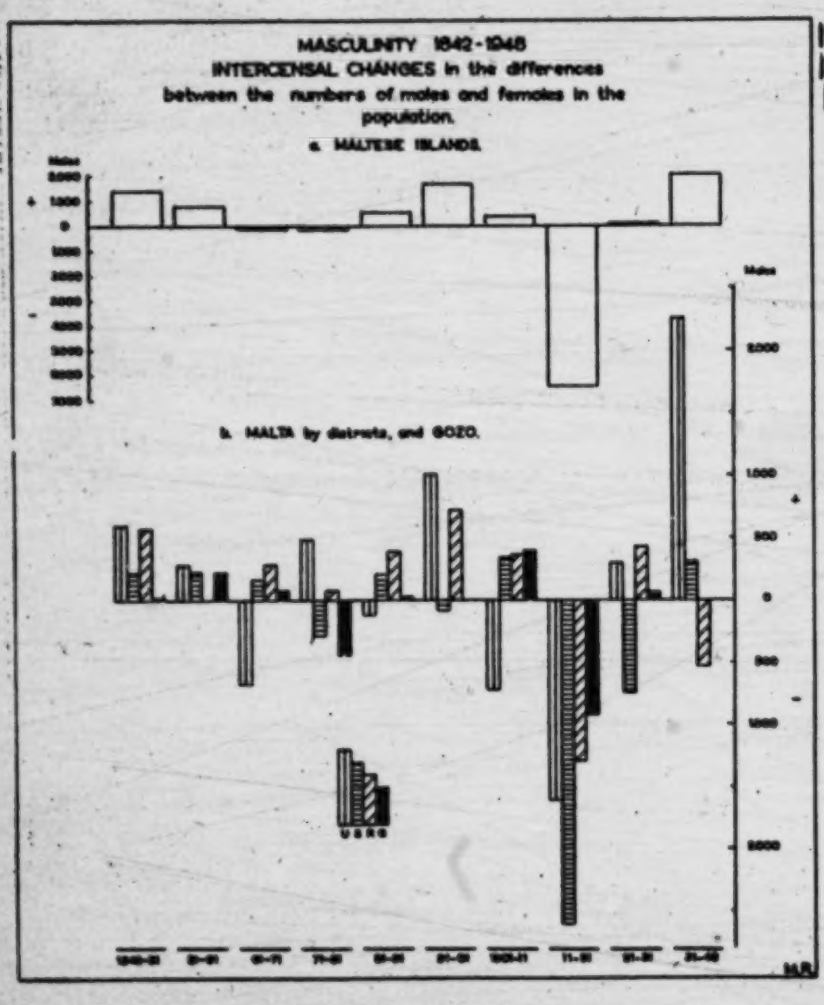

Fig. 47 Masculinity, 1842-1948.

[p.145-B]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

*175 Departures from the Island trend were most marked by a low masculinity in
•162 1921 and an abnormally high ratio in 1948. In suburban areas growth of the
167 population as a whole, which was most rapid between 1861 and 1911, was not accompanied by any marked imbalance between the sexes but after the latter date low masculinity was persistent and the ratio fluctuated much less than in urban districts. In rural districts, masculinity increased steadily from 1842 to 1911, when 102.5, the highest ratio ever recorded in Malta, was achieved in these areas. After 1911, there was some decline, but rural areas continued to show a higher ratio of males to females than did the Island as a whole.

The sex structure of a population is closely connected with, among other factors, external and internal migration rates. We may therefore use masculinity ratios to help our general understanding of other socio-economic conditions and also vice-versa. The early appearance and continuance of an excess of females in the case of Malta is without doubt the result of predominantly male emigraton, a causative relationship particularly strong in slowly developing Gozo. By 1911, the cumulative effect of the return of male immigrants together with other factors brought the ratio to near-parity. After 1911, increasing emigration reduced masculinity to the low point of 1921 from which it again rose to 1948, since which time renewed and large-scale outward movement has once more reduced the ratio. Except for the special circumstances obtaining in the late 1930's when most of the female non-Maltese population (largely Garrison families) was evacuated, and in the mid-40s when a more balanced non-Maltese group became re-established; except for this, the sex ratio can clearly be understood in association with our examination of economic changes and with a study of emigration (p. 157 et. seq.).

16 Regional differences in masculinity are of similar value in elucidating
*175 changing patterns of economic development and of internal migration. The rising proportion of males in the urban population between 1891 and 1901, for example, was to a large extent a product of an inward movement of workers connected with harbour development, and the decline in masculinity which marked the succeeding decade reflects the cessation of such work. The increased urban masculinity recorded in 1948 suggests that the return to reconstructed areas was evenly balanced thus causing an adjustment in the ratio, moving away from the female preponderance of 1931 (Fig. 47).

Fluctuations in suburban sex ratios have been relatively slight. The fall in masculinity between 1911 and 1921 was largely a product of emigration, while that of 1921-31 is statistical rather than real in that, at the latter census, the 'civil population' included the families of the garrison among whom females predominated and who lived mainly in Suburban Districts.

In Rural Districts, increases in the proportion of males down to 1911, reflect an inward movement, largely of emigrants returning from North Africa together with the late arresting of the earlier male movement to the towns. Declining masculinity between 1931 and 1948 was largely a product of renewed movement to the towns, often a first stage in migration overseas.

162 The age composition of the Islands' population is especially characterised by the high proportion of children, as shown in Table 38.

Table 38. Age-distribution of populations in percentages.

	Under 15	15-64	65 and over
United Kingdom (1948)	21.4	67.9	10.7
Italy (1949)	26.5	65.6	7.9
Netherlands (1950)	29.4	62.9	7.7
Malta (1948)	34.8	59.3	5.9
Japan (1950)	35.4	59.7	4.9

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

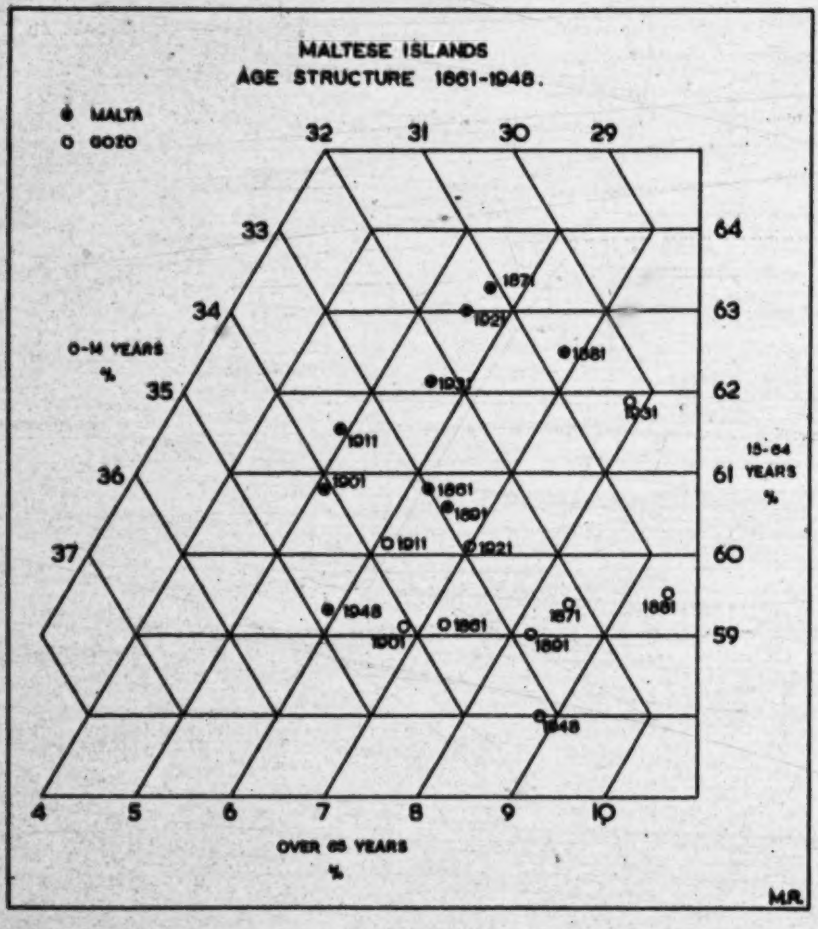

Fig. 48 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1861-1948.

[p. 147-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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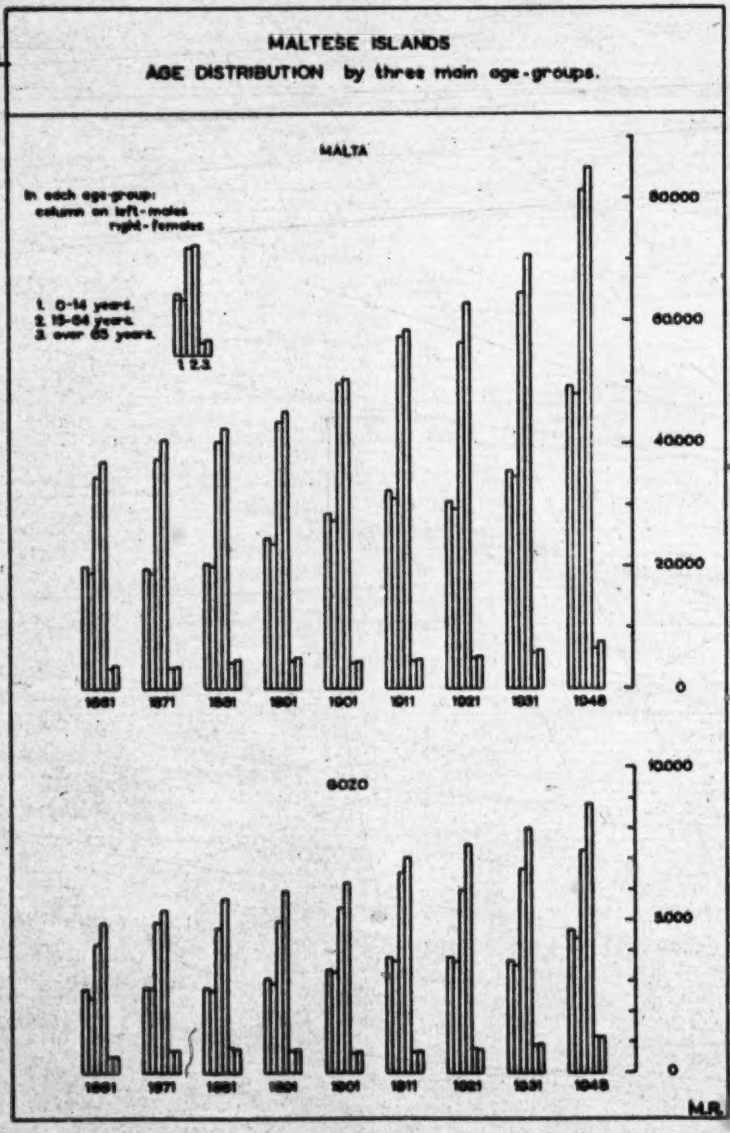

Fig. 49 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1861-1948, distribution by three Main Age Groups.

[p.147-B]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
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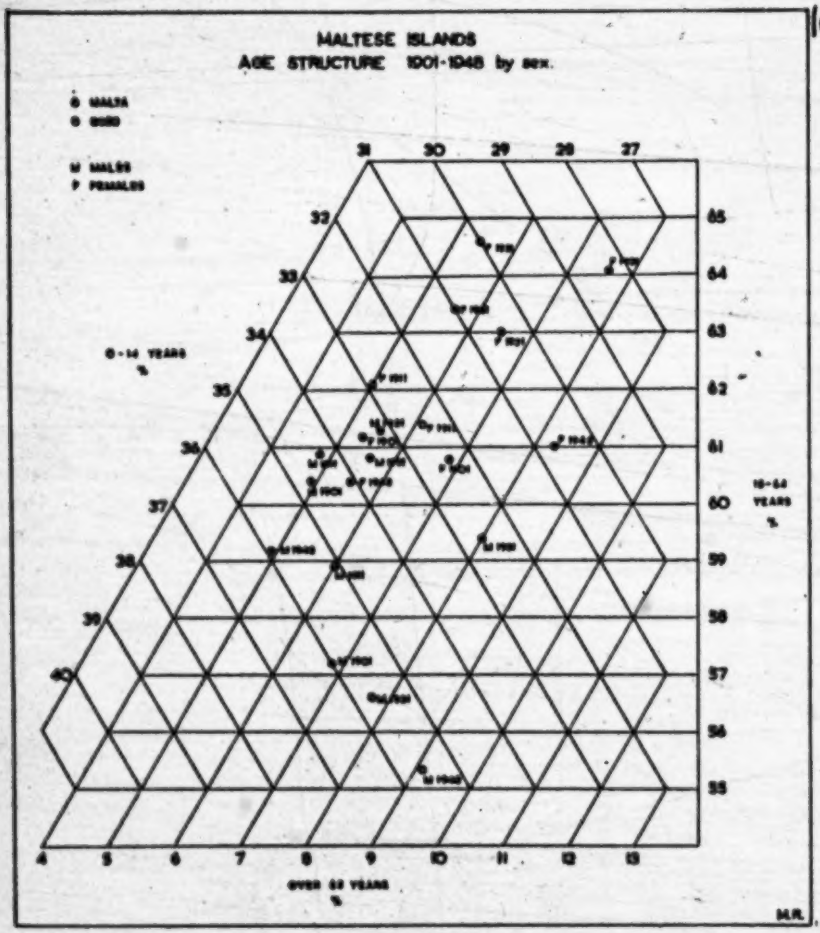

Fig. 50 Maltese Islands: Age Structure, 1901-48, by Sex.

[p. 148-A]

1:Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

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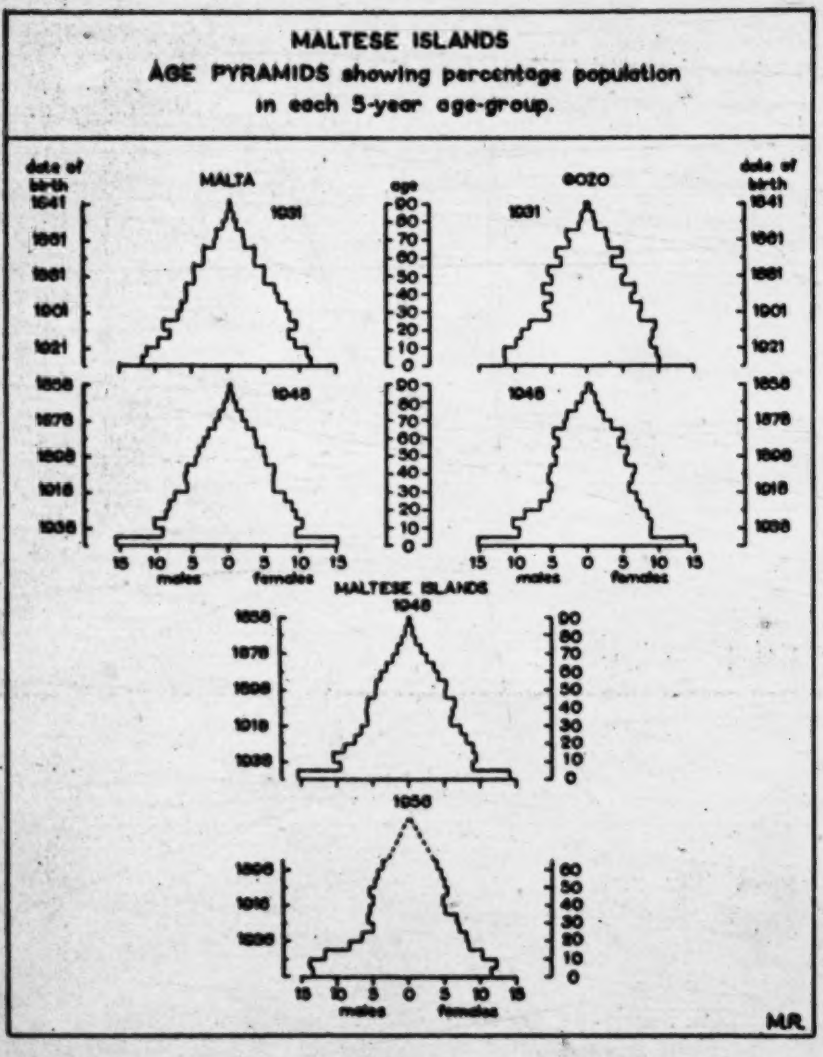

Fig. 51 Maltese Islands: Age Pyramids.

[p.148-B]

The population of Gozo differs from that of Malta, having a higher proportion of people over 65 and a much smaller proportion in the 15-64 group (Fig. 48). Variations between the proportions in the main age groups are shown in Fig. 49, but few evolutionary trends are recognisable. There was a decline in the percentage of young children from 1891 down to 1931, but this was offset, particularly in Malta, by the post-war period when birth rates were high. In Gozo, the return of people to the Island from Malta and from abroad was reflected, in the 1931 Census, in a particularly high proportion in the 15-64 group, in contrast to the normal state of affairs. 162

The analysis of age structure by sex (Fig. 50) shows a consistently higher proportion of females than of males in the working age groups (15-64). That these figures are bound up with emigration is further corroborated by the more even balance between the sexes in the over 65 group.

In terms of actual numbers, children under 15 increased from 44,000 in 1861 to 106,600 in 1948 while the numbers of working age have grown from 80,700 to 182,600 and of old people from 8,200 to 16,800. The greatest relative increase has therefore been among the children but in their case there have been two distinct periods of numerical growth. Between 1861 and 1881, the group showed an absolute increase of only 4 per cent. In the next 30 years there was an increase of 57 per cent. This was checked in the period 1911-21, but followed by a further rapid increase between 1921 and 1948 when the number of children grew by 62 per cent. Throughout the whole period, the sex ratio remained fairly constant between 102 and 104 males per 100 females. The reasons for such fluctuations are best deferred to a later consideration of fertility rates.

Among the working age group, the rise in the number of women has been at a steadily accelerating rate, whereas that of the men fell sharply in 1921. The numbers over 65 declined in 1871 and 1901, but rose steadily at all other Census dates. Masculinity was least in 1921 (89) and highest in 1901 and 1911 (98). Among old people, the ratio of males to 100 females varied between 98 and 88 but showed no progressive trend.

The most recent developments in the evolution of the population are summarised by a comparison of the 1948 and 1956 age pyramids (Fig. 51). The large number of children who, in 1948, were less than five years old, had by 1956 been absorbed in the 5-15 age groups, but the proportion of under-five's in 1956 was well below that in 1948. The other most striking feature is the very small proportions of the 15-45 age groups in 1956, indicating the wastage, most marked among males, which is a product of emigration.

FAMILY SIZE

The Census of 1948 is the first from which a precise calculation of family size can be made. Previous estimates were generally to the effect that 'the average family is of four of five children'. Information from the Family Census of June 1955 (21) has not yet become available. 163

In Malta, more than half the married women have borne four or more children and in Gozo nearly two-thirds. An extraordinarily high proportion, 13.5 per cent. in Malta and 16.4 per cent. in Gozo, have ten or more. Such figures do not, however, represent the total number of births which may take place, and Table 29 shows the number of women by cohorts of completed fertility who have had various numbers of children.

Table 29.

Number of children	Great Britain 1946		Maltese Islands 1948
	a	b	c
None	10.3	17.2	11.3
1-3	48.2	63.6	17.8
4-9	37.8	18.6	45.0
10 and over	3.7	0.6	25.9
	100%	100%	100%

a = women married between 1900 and 1909 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50, Vol. 3.
b = women married in 1925 - R.C. on Pop. 1949-50, Vol. 2.
c = married women over 45 years of age - Census of 1948.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

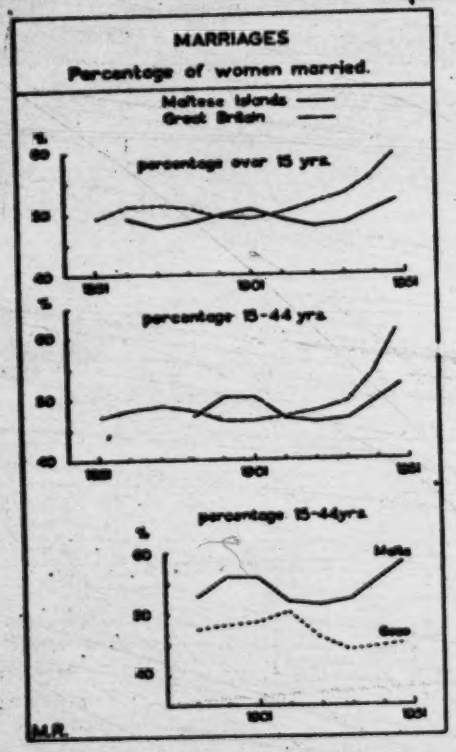

Fig. 56 Marriages: Percentage of Women Married.

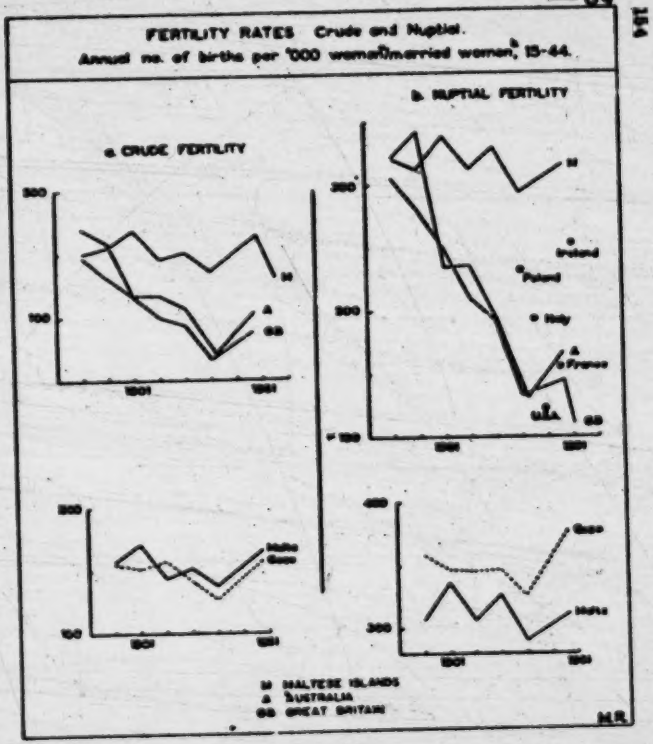

Fig. 57 Fertility Rates: Crude and Nuptial.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

variety of diseases, among which smallpox and cholera were important, assumed epidemic proportions after several years in which sickness had been prevalent. In 1942, war casualties, malnutrition and disease were responsible for an excess of deaths over births.

CONJUGAL CONDITION (Fig. 56)

The proportions of single, married and widowed persons has remained virtually the same since 1901. The great disparity between the numbers of married men and married women resident in the Islands, a feature of the inter-war period, reduced the number of effective marriages, but the discrepancy was considerably reduced by 1948, when there were 97 married men to every 100 married women, as against 92 in 1921 and 1931.

Comparison with other countries indicates that a smaller proportion of the Maltese people marry than is the case in, for example, Britain, Ireland or Australia but the age of marriage in Malta is much lower than in most other countries. Nearly 80 per cent. of the men who marry do so before they are 30 and, in 1955, 90 per cent. of brides were below that age. (In England and Wales the comparative figures are 74 per cent. and 81 per cent.) Furthermore, 26.2 per cent. of Maltese brides are less than 20 years of age. In Gozo, marriages are fewer, proportionally, than in Malta, and take place later: although there is a higher proportion of brides below 20, the proportion of women married by the time they are 25 is similar in the two islands. The commonest age at which men are married is 25 in Gozo compared with 22 in Malta.

MARRIAGE AND FERTILITY

While the proportion of the population which is married is relatively low, the resulting depressing effect on fertility rates is more than neutralised by the early age at which women are married. Crude fertility rates alone form an insufficient basis for detailed demographic analysis. Changes in the sex ratio, in migration, and in marriage rates as well as the underlying socio-economic attitudes to family size all must be examined.

The marriage rate has declined since the early nineteenth century. In 1831-40 it was 8 per 1,000 of the total population, while in 1951-56 it was 6.4, having fallen below 7 in the 1850's and remaining below that level with the exception of the two post-war periods (Fig. 54). Annual variations have followed changes in economic conditions as was the case in the rising marriage rate soon after 1900. Plagues, epidemics and wars have generally been followed by a sharp rise, as was the case after World War II.

A high marriage rate, maintained for several years, is generally an indication of prosperity. This was so in the first five years of the present century, while the depression which culminated in the arrival of the Royal Commission in 1911 was accompanied by a fall to less than 5 per 1,000. The high marriage rate of the years immediately following the Second World War soon fell away, but since 1950 there has been an unexpected recovery which has not been matched by a comparable rise in the number of births.

It is possible to assess the fertility of the population by a comparison of the Censuses with Vital Statistics and by relating the number of births either to the number of women of childbearing age (crude fertility rate) or to the number of married women of childbearing age (nuptial fertility rate). Crude and nuptial fertilities are shown in Fig. 57 and in both cases comparisons made with British and Australian equivalents. It will be seen that, in the Maltese Islands, between 1881 and 1948 the crude fertility rate only fell below 130 once (in 1931) and generally fluctuated between 140 and 170. In 1948 it was 175, the second highest figure recorded, but by 1950 it had declined to 130 despite a slight increase in the marriage rate. This would seem to indicate that nuptial fertility is now on the decline, though this cannot be demonstrated statistically.

The comparison of nuptial fertility rates is more valid than that of crude rates since it makes allowances for differences in the marriage rates between various countries. By this type of assessment, the outstandingly high fertility of the Maltese population is even more strongly emphasised. Only once, in 1931,

[Text continues on p. 157]

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

B. Economy and Trade

In any schematic division of history into periods there must be dangers and difficulties. Nevertheless, some themes of significance to our present study, naturally as well as for reasons of convenience, are best treated in this way. It is impossible to be precise about the date of birth of modern Malta in that different land marks might well be used in pursuing different lines of thought. Thus, constitutionally the year 1921 is of most significance, while the Royal Commission of 1911 is in some ways an economic obsequy for nineteenth-century Malta. In the sections that follow, therefore, arguments cannot be chronologically in step. Moreover, this, our last period, is the most well-documented of all and the irregularity of coverage most considerable. Some of the arguments earlier developed need little further emphasis in that some conditions and attitudes firmly established by the beginning of the twentieth century need merely to have their survival confirmed and readers referred to relevant material. Henceforward, therefore, our treatment can legitimately be more selective.

This period of Modern British Malta must be further subdivided. The first phase drew slowly and uneasily to a close during our period of research. It was formally ended by the suspension of the constitution in 1958. The new constitutional proposals of 1960 mark the official beginning of a second phase. The interregnum was the period of the transference of the Naval Dockyard to a civilian firm of ship repairers. In that we attach the greatest importance to the study of the fundamental infrastructure on which Maltese life has and will be based, most of the following analysis is concerned with the first phase - the climacteric of British rule in Malta. Our comment on more recent happenings is therefore deliberately restricted.

The Census of 1912 noted that in the decennial period 1901-11... 'productiveness has not risen in proportion to the increase of the population'.

The recorded Civil population in 1911 was 211,564. While in 1901, 28 per cent. of the female population was gainfully occupied, ten years later the proportion had fallen to 20 per cent. Henceforth male employment alone was of significance. The male labour force, which for analytical purposes was regarded as excluding only the age-group below five years of age, totalled 92,529. Of these almost 12,000 were engaged in agriculture, 19,489 in commerce and transport, and over 21,000 enumerated as having 'industrial' occupations. 31,385 were returned as unoccupied or unproductive.

The opening quotation is strictly an actuarial statement based on demographic facts. Behind the Census figures however we may perceive, by using various pieces of evidence, an economic basis for its sombreness. By comparing details of the 1911 enumeration with those for 1921, the first year in which unemployment within occupational groups was recorded, we may deduce that some 10 per cent. of the able male labour force was in fact without employment during the earlier year. By 1907, 10 per cent. of the ships cleared from Malta left in ballast (1). Between 1901 and 1911, the numbers of farmers and farmers' relatives assisting on the land increased by 3,000 and the number of labourers fell by 1,259 (2). Only once between 1906 and 1914, in 1908-09, did Government Revenue not show a deficit (3). In 1905, 9,178 men were employed in the Naval Establishments but this had fallen to 5,181 in 1906 (4). Many such facts could be quoted to prove the existence of an economic depression in Malta during the years following 1906, a situation which induced the setting up in 1911 of a Royal Commission to consider the financial situation. The array of evidence does more than this, it also shows that this was no simple secular trend but a sign of uneasy adjustment to new circumstances, an adjustment that is still in progress. This is why the Report of the 1911 Commission is of more than contemporary importance (5) and why its study is essential to any serious consideration of Maltese problems.

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

economic structure due to a British policy which in the past was almost entirely based on her own military needs constitutes an unanswerable case for adequate help to the Islands in their present effort' find alternative sources of employment'. From the factual point of view this last statement needs qualification, while in so far as it is representative in a mild way of an attitude which more violently would throw the whole onus of guaranteeing the future on to Britain it is dangerous. In the first place, as the various studies in this book indicate, Maltese economic dependence on the value placed on the islands by non-Maltese communities, necessarily in the light of their own needs, is of great antiquity. The only way in which Britain could have refrained from increasing this dependence would have been by positively encouraging social and economic stagnation outside a small Garrison pale. This leads to the second point that the indigenous population rapidly seized opportunities to rise above the low level of life possible on local non-locational resources. The development of the present economy is as much due to natural indigenous economic desires as to outside pressure. Thirdly, as noted in the Introduction, recent confusion of attitudes towards political subordination and social welfare as well as to production, has produced a general realisation of the problem, without producing any clear solutions. Indeed the implications of the suggested solutions have been met with natural but rather irrational repugnance. Finally, we may observe that the use of phrases such as 'alternative sources of employment' when what is really meant is 'alternative sources of wealth', must always darken counsel. Once again the need for realistic appraisal of natural resources becomes manifest.

The most up-to-date picture of the Islands' general economy may be derived from the 1958 Departmental reports published late in 1959 and 1960. In December 1958 the total population numbered almost 324,000, that of Malta having increased by 5 per cent. since 1948 in spite of emigration while that of Gozo declined by 0.4 per cent. as a result of emigration. The internal shifts of population that occurred during and after World War II have virtually ceased. The gainfully occupied population totalled 88,710, and less than 5 per cent. of the total male population aged 14-64 were not productively occupied. 25.4 per cent. of male workers were Government employees and paid out of Government revenue. 33.5 per cent. of the employed population worked in or for the Service Departments, deriving their income directly or indirectly from the Imperial Government. Thus, only 42 per cent. of the working population is employed in normal civilian activity and, as already noted, most of this activity is generated by indirect Imperial expenditure. In 1958 the gross national product had increased to £42.4 millions but the visible trade deficit also rose to £25.2 millions.

To conclude this section we turn by way of illustration from the general to the particular, to a brief consideration of two of the facets of Maltese life investigated by our team of research workers.

Her Majesty's Dockyard in Malta, for so long the crux of British interest in the Islands, has recently been transferred to civilian interests amidst a welter of differing reactions. Thanks to the co-operation of the Admiral Superintendent and his staff in March 1957 we have been able to analyse the main characteristics of the Dockyard, and present here a few of the relevant findings. At that time, 12,572 Maltese workers were directly employed in the Dockyard, almost exactly the same number as the total of farmholders, or the total engaged in 'industrial' occupations, i.e. mining, quarrying, manufacturing and construction. In the Dockyard there were four departments, those of the Captain, Construction, Engineering, and Electrical Engineering, which were regarded as 'professional departments'. These employed 59 per cent. of the total Dockyard employees, most of this proportion in skilled trades. In the remaining 11 departments, a considerable number of technicians and craftsmen were also employed as well as upper-grade administrative and financial personnel. The Dockyard thus contained the largest pool of skilled labour in the Islands and provided the most important training ground, because, of the roughly equal numbers in civil 'industrial' employment, a very much larger proportion was unskilled, particularly in the building industry (18).

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary agriculture can only be understood in terms of the whole nexus of environmental and human factors. Although a general truism this assertion continually needs to be emphasised in a study of Malta. In these Islands the observer will meet more puzzling features both major and minor in scale than it is conceivable would be found in any territory of similar size. The wider one's comparative experience, the more it appears necessary to discard general principles and to adopt a habit of querying the origin of every minor element in the landscape. The various problems are examined elsewhere but a brief statement of their type and range will serve to depict the complex nature of Maltese agriculture.

All visitors to Malta are invariably impressed by the vast extent of stone terrace walls which give to the ground-level observer an impression of rocky barrenness. The questions which arise, and which have not been satisfactorily answered, are manifold in their complexity. Do the terrace-walls merely serve to retain naturally-evolved soil and if so is the present density of enclosures strictly necessary? Are these walls, on the other hand, ramparts behind which man-made soil accumulations have been slowly built up to create artificial fields? If the latter, does normal pedological analysis provide a sufficient basis for soil husbandry? If the former, how far can enclosures be enlarged to permit a greater use of mechanised techniques?

The climate of Malta, as analysed in Chapter II, has some especial characteristics. How far do certain combinations of temperature, humidity and wind velocity in various topographic circumstances encourage the appearance and survival of the very many diseases and pests which afflict Maltese crops? To what extent may the climate-soil complex be held responsible for the virtual absence of the olive and the remarkable ignorance concerning viticulture which is only now being dispelled? Must the physical environment be regarded as the main reason for the fact that Maltese farmers have never produced important indigenous strains of crops or livestock but have relied entirely on breeds imported from their more productive neighbours?

Innumerable queries of this type result from even the most cursory visual survey, and any attempt to answer them brings in even more complex human questions. If the maintenance of man-made soil in artificial fields by arduous manual labour is essential for the ecological stability of many regions, how important is the conflict between the needs of production and the social desires of the cultivators? How far has poor husbandry been a product of rural isolation? How measurable is distance as it affects contact between producer and market, between village-dweller and *il-Belt*? None of these and other questions is uniquely applicable to Malta, but *in toto* they present such a formidable array as to make one feel that these small islands have concentrated within them certain microcosmic qualities.

In this Section are considered some of the observable facts that directly concern the use and potentialities of agricultural resources. The main features of the economy and society in general have been described in previous sections; the basic elements of the agricultural sector may be summarised as follows.

The total area of the Maltese Islands is some 280,512 *tmien* of which 152,343 *tmien* are cultivated (54 per cent of the total) (1). The relationship between Malta and Gozo in these respects is remarkably constant, both islands having a similar proportion of worked land, Malta possessing 79 per cent. of the total area and of the cultivated land. Of the 7,272 *tmien* of irrigated land, almost 89 per cent. is found in Malta where the only large irrigated zones also occur.

This cultivated land is worked in 12,315 registered farmholdings of which over 70 per cent. are in Malta. The rural community (i.e. persons living in dwellings registered as farms and including farmworkers' children and other members of the family otherwise employed) number 57,384 (72 per cent. in Malta), almost 18 per cent. of the total population. Of this rural community 34

1: Bowen-Jones et al. K-5 (1955-1958) 1961
EZ6 Malta EZ6

per cent. are children under 14 years of age. The number of whole-time farmers, 8,100, is now smaller than the group of part-time agriculturalists - 8,946, and in its age-composition differs significantly from the total population - 48 per cent. are aged 50 years or more (1948 - 33.8 per cent.) as compared with 31 per cent. for the Islands as a whole.

The relatively small and, until very recently, declining size of the full-time farming population, and its rapid ageing, suggest a decline in the importance and status of agriculture. The implications of these figures are discussed elsewhere but it is worth noting that the agricultural areas are still inhabited by over 126,000 persons most of whom draw some real income from the land in amounts which may often be small per capita but which observation suggests are large in total.

The total value of the recorded crop product is estimated at some £2.27 millions. From observation in Malta and experience elsewhere one can suggest that is under-estimated by a fraction of the order of 10 per cent. (See p. 10, Essential Statistics - for further information.)

The combined value of crop and livestock products is estimated at almost £6,000,000. The income accruing to the cultivators is distributed in such a multiplicity of ways in such varying amounts that no useful estimate of average per capita income can be made. Of the disbursements of some £3 millions, an amount of the order of £2½ millions is expended on imports, notably of fodder and store cattle. Earnings of foreign currency amount to approximately £500,000, almost half of which derived from potato exports. This imbalance between imports and exports in the agricultural sector appears even more striking when one remembers that F.D.T. imports of over £9,000,000 make up 35 per cent. of the total Maltese import bill.

The efforts of the 9 per cent. of the employed population engaged in agriculture are already considerable but the needs of Malta are great. With no known physical resources of any size other than the land, it becomes of vital importance that farming productivity should be raised even further and that special effort is directed towards a legitimate degree of self-sufficiency in agricultural products. Much of the analysis that follows this introduction must be considered in the light of present and future needs.

REFERENCES

1. et passim Census of Agriculture, 1950. Malta. 1950.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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which divide the villages. I have therefore presented the current political and religious issues in Malta as concisely as possible, and have made no attempt to evaluate or to pass judgement on the policies of State, Church or political party. Consequently, any attempt to put the facts contained herein to polemical use is likely to distort them.

Though I lived in Malta during 1957 and 1958, this study is based on the research I carried out there from July 1960 to September 1961 under a grant from the Colonial Social Science Research Council, to whom I am most grateful. The terms of reference on which the research was based, and the form this final report has assumed, were dictated solely by my personal interests; my work was neither carried out on behalf of, nor a report to, a government.

My wife and daughters were with me during the entire period of fieldwork, and their encouragement and interest as well as the many friends they made were a great asset. We spent our first five months in Farrug and the last eight months in Kortin. These are not the real names of the villages, for the inhabitants of neither seek recognition. Indeed, throughout this study I have been at pains to avoid any indiscretion which would repay most shamefully our special debt of gratitude to friends and neighbours for their hospitality and good humour in the face of our ignorance of their customs. For the same reason, the names of many of the persons and saints who figure in this account have been altered.

I chose to work in Farrug because it is one of the villages divided by competing band clubs, and among other things I was particularly interested in the part this unusual rivalry plays in village politics. With a population of approximately 1,400, it is one of the smaller Maltese villages. We later moved to Kortin, a village of almost 5,000, since its size and the fact that it is not divided by band club rivalry provided an interesting contrast to Farrug. Available housing determined the choice of these particular two villages from among the many that would have met my requirements. Besides detailed research in these villages, I carried out comparative studies into the general organization, leadership and patterns of conflict of 12 other communities. In this work Mr. Edward Micallef was my very able research assistant for three months. I chose 11 of these villages by stratifying all villages in Malta and Gozo according to population and then drawing out a

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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the glaring skies. This stone, so characteristic of Malta, provides a gradual transition from the open country to the compact, densely populated communities in which the people live.

II

In 1960, just under 329,000 people lived on the islands' 122 square miles. This makes the Maltese archipelago, with a population density of 2,700 per square mile, one of the most thickly populated countries in the world. Slightly over half the population live in the urban area which centres on Valletta and the Grand Harbour. The rest, and the part with which this study is concerned, live in clearly separated villages and towns outside the conurbation. The population of Gozo is 28,000, and that of Comino 30.

The pressure of a numerous and fertile population on a very limited area has long been one of Malta's most serious problems. The Maltese marry rather early and, in the past, have been encouraged by the clergy and public opinion to have large families. But the Church in Malta has finally and officially recognized the problem, and recently opened a medical advisory service for married couples. During the period 1957–60, births averaged 8,600 per annum and deaths 2,820, thus the natural annual increase was about 5,780. As the net emigration during this period was 2,170 annually, the total population increased at an annual rate of approximately 3,610. Emigration, however, has taken off many of the young men and left a surplus of females. In 1960 there were 747 men between the ages of 20 and 34 for every 1,000 women in the same age group.[1]

III

Malta's documented history stretches back over a thousand years. The summary of it given here makes no pretence of originality. With but few exceptions, it is based upon the well-known published sources listed in the Bibliography. My sole object is to enable the reader to see the present political system in its historical perspective.

Throughout history, Malta has been subject to many different

[1] *Statistical Abstract of the Maltese Islands, 1960* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1961). C, pp. 2–3.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
EZ6 Malta EZ6

CHAPTER II

The National Organizations: State, Church and Political Party

Generally speaking, the activities of government are carried out by a number of departments and boards, each of which is under the control of a director or chairman. Each of these, in turn, is usually responsible to an elected Cabinet Minister. But under the interim constitutional arrangements which followed the resignation from office of the Labour Party in 1958, Department Heads were responsible to a British Chief Secretary and his assistants. Under each Department Head are ranked the various grades of civil servants. These run from the Executive and Clerical Officers through non-pensionable clerk-typists, fatiguemen and industrial labourers. Altogether, some 17,000 persons work for the government. They represent 19 per cent of the total labour force. This makes the Malta Government the largest employer on the islands. Entrance to all but the lowest grades, and promotion between the principal grades within the civil service, are by means of open competitive examinations.

Malta's small size has facilitated the centralized administration required of an island fortress. As already observed, there are no councillors, headmen or mayors, either elected or hereditary, to represent the interests of the villagers to the government or convey the wishes and commands of government to the people. Virtually all the machinery and personnel of government are located in Valletta. Only the police represent government authority in all villages. There are government elementary schools for boys and girls in all villages and almost all hamlets. Now most villages also have a dispensary which is open for a few hours a day under the supervision of a government District Medical Officer and a nurse. There are a few regional post offices and branches of the Department of Emigration, Welfare and Labour. All other public services, such as street sanitation, sewerage (where it exists), water, electricity, repair of roads and so on, which in

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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They must live together in specially designated premises under the discipline of their order, and they are subject to the authority of their provincial or superior. As we shall see, the position that the clergy occupy in society and the nature of their work is to a very considerable extent determined by their sheer numbers. In 1957 there were 1,229 diocesan priests, friars and monks and 1,588 nuns in Malta and Gozo.[1] In addition to these, in 1958 there were approximately 220 friars and monks and 200 nuns studying abroad or working as missionaries or chaplains to communities of migrants.[2]

There are a number of associations which occupy important positions in the structure of both the diocese and its constituent parishes. At the diocesan level the most important of these are the College of Archpriests and Parish Priests, which acts as a pressure group in the interest of its members; the Cana Movement, which runs courses for engaged couples, a marriage advisory council and a clinic; and the Social Action Movement, which is trying to establish trade unions. There is also the Diocesan Junta, or Diocesan Council of Catholic Lay Organizations. This body, on which most of the diocesan and parochial societies are represented, is an important pressure group. As already noted, it played a leading part in bringing about the defeat of the Malta Labour Party in the 1962 elections.

Many associations, though organized at the diocesan level, have semi-autonomous branches at the parish level. These can be roughly divided into the lay apostolate associations and the devotional societies. The lay apostolate groups have been organized so that 'the Church will be able to exercise its direct and indirect action in all the fields: religious, cultural, technical, family, workers' movements and others.'[3] These societies are usually divided by age and sex, and except for the Society of Christian Doctrine, all are run by village priests who are responsible to the parish priest. These chaplains and the lay leaders generally work out an active programme of lectures, good works and outings. Many of them take part in religious processions and, in general, support the work of the parish priest. Together with the clergy,

[1] *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Economic Activities* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), p. 45.
[2] Charles G. Vella, ed., *The Catholic Directory of Malta and Gozo* (Valletta, Archbishop's Palace, 1958), pp. 273–308.
[3] François H. Houtart, *in* Vella, p. 311.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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level. There are also many village clerks and teachers who speak English to their children to help prepare them for school, for a sound command of English is a prerequisite to social advancement.

It is quite true that education has been given greater emphasis in the urban areas than in the villages; but the introduction of compulsory education between the ages of six and fourteen is rapidly closing this gap. The spread of education is reflected in the decline of illiteracy. In 1948, just two years after the introduction of compulsory education, 16 per cent of the population of Valletta and Sliema over fourteen years of age, and 47 per cent of the same age group in Gozo, were illiterate. By 1957, these figures had fallen to 9 per cent and 22 per cent respectively. During the same period, the national illiteracy rate declined from 37 per cent to 17 per cent.[1]

A number of other forces operate to reduce the social distance between town and country. The greater employment opportunities during and after the war, and the continuous improvement in public transport that allowed the villagers to take advantage of them, have placed an ever-increasing number of villagers alongside townsmen at desks and work benches. The war itself was a major force in the same direction, for British troops and people from the urban areas were evacuated to the country to escape the bombing attacks, and so shared the life of their rural neighbours. All learned a good deal from one another. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Maltese, especially in the villages, regard the last war as a social milestone, a dividing line between past dependence upon agriculture and present wage labour, between poverty and relative prosperity.

II

The inhabitants of the villages in Malta no longer derive their livelihood from agriculture, though this was the rule a century ago. Today most are semi-skilled and unskilled industrial labourers who work outside their villages for the Malta Government, the

[1] *Eleventh Census of the Maltese Islands, 1948* (Valletta, Progress Press), pp. 297 ff.; and *1957 Census of the Maltese Islands: Report on Population and Housing* (Valletta, Central Office of Statistics, 1958), pp. 41 ff. The two sets of figures are not quite comparable. Those for 1948 represent the total number of illiterates, while the 1957 figures show only the number of people who never attended school.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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differ from the villages. While only about sixteen per cent of the adult population of an average Maltese village is not native born, approximately two-thirds of the adults residing in the urban and suburban areas were born outside the communities in which they now live (see Table 2 below).

There is no rule of village endogamy or exogamy, and a bride and groom are free to choose where they wish to live and set up their household. The choice of residence is normally governed by available housing, place of work and the relative strength of the bride's and groom's ties with their respective families and villages. But in case of a conflict of interest, a wife is expected to follow the wishes of her husband. If housing is available in both the village of the wife and that of her husband, and the husband's place of work is in neither, there is a tendency for the couple to live in the wife's village. The Maltese themselves acknowledge that, all other things being equal, the ties between a wife and her family are stronger than those between her husband and his kin.

Thus in Farrug and Kortin, I found that approximately half the couples had married and settled within their respective villages. Less than one in twenty (4 per cent) of the couples were strangers who had moved there because of the shortage of housing in their own villages; and all of these had relatives already living in the two villages. The outsiders who married or moved into Farrug and Kortin formed one-fifth (21 per cent) of the adult population, or about 10 per cent of the total population of each. In slightly over half (56 per cent) the marriages between people from these two villages and other villages, the husband settled in his wife's village. This is the general trend in Malta, where most men work outside their villages. In Gozo, where farming is the chief occupation, it is more usual for a woman to move to her husband's village, for that is his place of work. People from the towns who marry villagers are reluctant to move into the villages, and it is therefore fairly common to find villagers, especially women, moving to join their spouses in the towns.

The general principles regarding marriage residence are reflected in Table 2.

The number of outsiders resident in a village is an important factor governing the degree to which its inhabitants consider themselves a corporate group. As outsiders always retain strong links with their place of birth, the solidarity of a village is inversely

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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proportional to the number of outsiders resident in it. Not only does loyalty to friends and relations in a man's village of birth often take precedence over new ties established by his marriage into a strange village, but it is not unusual for a man married into another village to continue to play an active part in the social life of his native village. Conversely, an outsider is seldom called upon or attempts to join the clubs and associations of his wife's village. Thus, only 3 per cent of the committee members of the fifteen band and social clubs in the sample villages I studied were outsiders, although about 18 per cent of the adult male population resident in these villages were born elsewhere. On the other hand, 5 per cent of the committee members were now living outside the villages in which they were born and hold office.

TABLE 2. Adults Born Outside their Place of Residence[1]

Place of Residence	*Percentage born elsewhere*	*Males*	*Females*
Urban/Suburban	66%	45%	55%
Maltese Villages	16	52	48
Gozitan Villages	15	39	61

Because of the many ties which bind people to their villages of birth, an adult who moves into his wife's village remains an outsider for many years. The village will probably not give him a distinctive village nickname, and he will be known simply as the husband of his wife, or perhaps by the name of his native village. Although the village may ignore his outside origin for much of the time, his place of birth is certain to be remembered and held against him by his enemies, should be become involved in a dispute. The children of an outsider, however, become full members of the village by virtue of their birth there, and their connection with the community through the family of their mother (or father). By the time his children begin to grow up and get married, the outsider is usually firmly established as a full member of the community.

[1] This table was compiled from data made available to me by the Principal Government Electoral Officer. It covers a random sample drawn from a sample of two suburban communities (Sliema and Balzan), seven Maltese villages (Zebbug, Gharghur, Qrendi, Mosta, Qormi, Dingli and Zurrieq) and three Gozitan villages (Qala, Xaghra and Ghasri).

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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these groups is the loyalty of the people to the partit and its patron, shown by supporting the many activities that the leaders organize, and by boycotting similar activities of their rivals. These include fund-raising lotteries and fairs, weekly collections and partit picnics and pilgrimages. During the festa, supporters march with the statue, dress themselves and their houses up and in general celebrate their patron. Their rivals often walk about unshaven and glowering, and do not normally decorate their houses.

Although most people in a village divided by this type of rivalry will choose, or be forced, to take sides, a few are able to avoid this commitment, or at least say they have. These are often priests and teachers, who sometimes find it to their advantage to remain neutral, as do outsiders who have married into the village. MUSEUM members are not permitted to maintain partit affiliation though, of course, many do. Neutral people contribute to both feasts. A true partisan would never contribute to the external feast of his rival, although he might give something to the parish priest for the internal feast. During periods of intense rivalry, even these contributions cease. Thus, virtually the entire £1,465 which St. Martin's centenary cost was contributed by his supporters alone. Six months later their rivals spent £600 on the feast of St. Roque.

The band club is the organizational and social centre of a partit. All members of the club are supporters of the partit, but not all supporters of the partit are members of the club, though non-members are normally welcome to come and use its facilities. To a certain extent, membership of the club depends upon the availability of ready cash, for many men are reluctant to part with the subscription fee as long as they can make use of the club's premises. Though the confraternities are open to all adults without regard to partit affiliation, there is normally a positive correlation between partit and confraternity membership. Generally speaking, the supporters of the titular feast enrol in the older confraternities of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary. These confraternities are established in all parishes, and play an important part in many religious ceremonies. Supporters of the secondary patron enrol in the confraternity dedicated to him, if they feel inclined to join one.

These general principles can be illustrated by data collected in Farrug. Table No. 4 below shows the relative strengths of the two

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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partiti. Of the 617 inhabitants of both sexes over twenty-one years old, 48 per cent support St. Martin, 42 per cent St. Roque, and 10 per cent are uncommitted. Although the numerical strength of the partiti is almost the same, each claims two-thirds of the total population. Of those who claim to be neutral, 63 per cent were born outside the village.

TABLE 4. Farrug: Festa Partit Affiliation and Place of Birth

PARTIT	PLACE OF BIRTH			
	Village	*Outside*	*Total*	*Percentage*
St. Martin	250	47	297	48
St. Roque	219	42	261	42
Uncommitted	22	37	59	10
Total	491	126	617	100

Table 5 shows the relation between partit affiliation and membership in one of the three confraternities in Farrug. Of the members of the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Rosary who belong to no other confraternity 84 and 64 per cent respectively belong to the St. Martin partit. Ninety-five per cent of the members of the Confraternity of St. Roque belong to his partit. It is interesting to observe that 83 per cent of those who declare that they are not committed to either partit have also avoided confraternity membership.

TABLE 5. Farrug: Festa Partit Affiliation and Confraternity Membership

CONFRATERNITY	PARTIT			
	St. Martin	*St. Roque*	*None*	*Total*
B/Sacrament	57	6	5	68
St. Roque	5	87	–	92
Holy Rosary	20	8	5	33
Mixed	24	23	2	49
None	191	135	49	375
Total	297	261	59	617

Recruitment to a partit is quite straightforward, for members do not now change sides, although this occasionally occurred in the generation following their establishment. Today a person is either born into a partit, or marries into it. Children support the partit of their parents, and an outsider marrying into the village generally supports that of his (or her) spouse. Marriages between

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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Marriages between

621 members of rival partiti are regarded as undesirable. They occa-
582 sionally take place, but the division of loyalty within the nuclear
584 family which results often leads to quarrels and, occasionally, to
593 temporary separations. (The favourite festa-time story of the wife
538 who refuses to cook for her husband because he belongs to the other partit is based on fact!) Of the marriages contracted within Farrug, 72 per cent took place between members of the same partit. Children of mixed marriages support the feast of their favourite parent: boys normally follow their fathers and girls their mothers.

578- I recorded only two cases in Farrug of adults who changed
621 their partit affiliation. Both occurred over fifty years ago. A leading member of the St. Roque partit left it after a heated quarrel with Dun Rokku over the design for new street decorations. He subsequently became one of the other partit's most honoured members, and even wrote a book on the life of St. Martin. The second man left St. Roque when he married the daughter of the president of the St. Martin club. I was told that the girl's father had insisted on the change before he gave his consent to the marriage. The young man went on to become president of the club, as did his only son. In another village a few young men left their partit after a quarrel with one of the leaders, but all returned after a year.

621 Although an outsider who marries into a village generally supports the partit of his spouse, a few of them, particularly the men, succeed in remaining neutral. Of the 122 outsiders who married into Farrug,[1] 28 per cent of the men but only 8 per cent of the women remained uncommitted. A few even chose to support partiti opposed to those of their spouses. Thus a women from Qrendi who married a St. Martin supporter and moved to Farrug became a follower of St. Roque because she had been a keen member of the secondary partit in her native village. Children of families in which one of the parents is an outsider, especially if the parent remains neutral, often support the partit of their friends rather than those of their parents or siblings. A case in point is that of the president of the St. Roque club, and his brother. Their father was an outsider who, because of his position as headmaster, made a point of remaining strictly neutral. Though his wife was from a St. Martin family, one son supported St. Martin, the other St. Roque.

[162]

[1] 61 men and 61 women. These marriages represent 34 per cent of the total in the village.

2: Boissevain E-5 (1960-1961) 1965
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1962 elections, three-fourths are members of the professional classes. The remainder are persons who, for the most part, have risen to positions of influence through party and trade union hierarchies.

TABLE 8. Occupation of Candidates Elected to the 1962 Malta Legislative Assembly

OCCUPATION	POLITICAL PARTY				
	Nationalist	*Labour*	*Other*	*Total*	*Percentage*
Professional	24	9	5	38	76
Administrative	1	4	2	7	14
Skilled Labour	—	3	2	5	10
Total	25	16	9	50	100

The way a political candidate recruits a following depends upon his status and party. All candidates recruit support through their relatives and friends; and all usually have a following in their own villages outside this circle of relatives. To get this, they must usually be successful politicians at the village level. It is for this reason that so many politicians are also presidents of local band and social clubs, and even of some of the lay apostolate societies. Next, every candidate must establish contact with the people in his electoral district outside the village. Since there are usually at least five candidates from each party standing in every district, each normally concentrates his campaign on one part of the district. He does this by making frequent rounds of all the band and social clubs and important wine shops in his territory. There he listens to complaints and requests and, in general, tries to establish a reputation as a generous and approachable person without committing himself to do specific favours. But above all, it is important for him to meet many people, for the Maltese voter does not like to give his first vote to a person he, or at least some member of his immediate family, does not know personally. Finally, all candidates tour their districts just before the election and make speeches.

Candidates who are doctors, lawyers, notaries, architects and so on, have a decided advantage. As professionals, they already have close personal contact with a large number of clients, many of whom are bound to them by debts, or obligated to them for help and favours. These obligations are important, for the Maltese villager does not like to receive something for nothing, and he

3: Buxton D-5 (1920-1921) 1922 EZ6 Malta EZ6

population as 20,000 in 1582. In 1632, 50,113 is given, and in 1667, 53,000. In 1741, 110,000 is the population, which is said to have increased to 114,000 in 1798. The figures for Malta and Gozo in 1826 are stated to be 119,736. But the first reliable figure is 115,945 in 1828. In 1881 the population was 132,129 in Malta and 17,653 in Gozo; in 1901, 184,742, and 1911, 211,564.

In regard to the proportion of the sexes there were in 1911 110 bachelors to 100 spinsters, 98 husbands to 100 wives, and 44 widowers to 100 widows. In round thousands, the males over 5 years of age were engaged in the following occupations: 7 in professional, 2 domestic, 19 commercial, 12 agricultural, 21 industrial, and 31 were unproductive and unoccupied; the last figure is rather misleading as it includes at least four separate classes—children, aged, people of independent income, and incapables of all classes. The data in regard to foreigners is the most interesting for our purpose, as it gives an insight into the amount of mixture that is taking place. There were at the last census (1911) (31) 854 ♂ and 1,003 ♀ foreigners in the island. Of these 3 ♀ were English, the remainder were made up as follows: 77 ♂ and 45 ♀ from Africa (apart from 1 ♂ and 2 ♀, all these came from Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria); 479 ♂ and 499 ♀ from Sicily; 156 ♂ and 253 ♀ from other parts of Italy; 36 ♂ and 39 ♀ came from Greece, and 11 ♂ were classified as Asiatics. This does not, of course, include the garrison, a large floating population of which the figures are uncertain, as they depend so much on the ships which happen to be in harbour at the time when the census is taken. The increase of population between 1828 and 1911 is of interest. That of Malta increased by 88·25 per cent. of the total, and that of Gozo by 45·31 per cent. The increase in Malta was nearly five times as great in the suburban area as in the other areas combined.[1]

The density per square mile in 1911 was 1884 (Malta 2167, and Gozo 879). The density in the south-east corner of Malta is, however, greater than would appear from these figures. If the island be divided along a line west of Gargur, Naxaro, Musta, Notabile, Rabato, Crendi, the areas east and west of such a line would be almost equal in size. The eastern area, however, contained in 1911 183,132 inhabitants, and the western 5737. Practically all the Neolithic remains occur in the eastern area, suggesting that the centres of population have not changed appreciably since Neolithic times.

V.—Material and Methods.

The skeletal material examined is conveniently grouped in four series: (i) Bones from the Hypogæum at Hal Saflieni (Malta Local Neolithic); (ii) Miscellaneous ancient skeletons, chiefly Romano-Maltese; (iii) Specimens from the Chapel of Bones (Late Mediæval); (iv) Modern bones. Only in case (ii) were any complete skeletons available.

[1] Since this article was written the results of the Census of 1921 have become available. They are as follows:—Malta, 180,697 (92,127 ♂, 97,570 ♀); Gozo, 22,561 (10,618 ♂, 11,943 ♀). Total for the two islands, 212,258, an increase of only 694 since 1911, as against 26,822 in the previous decade.

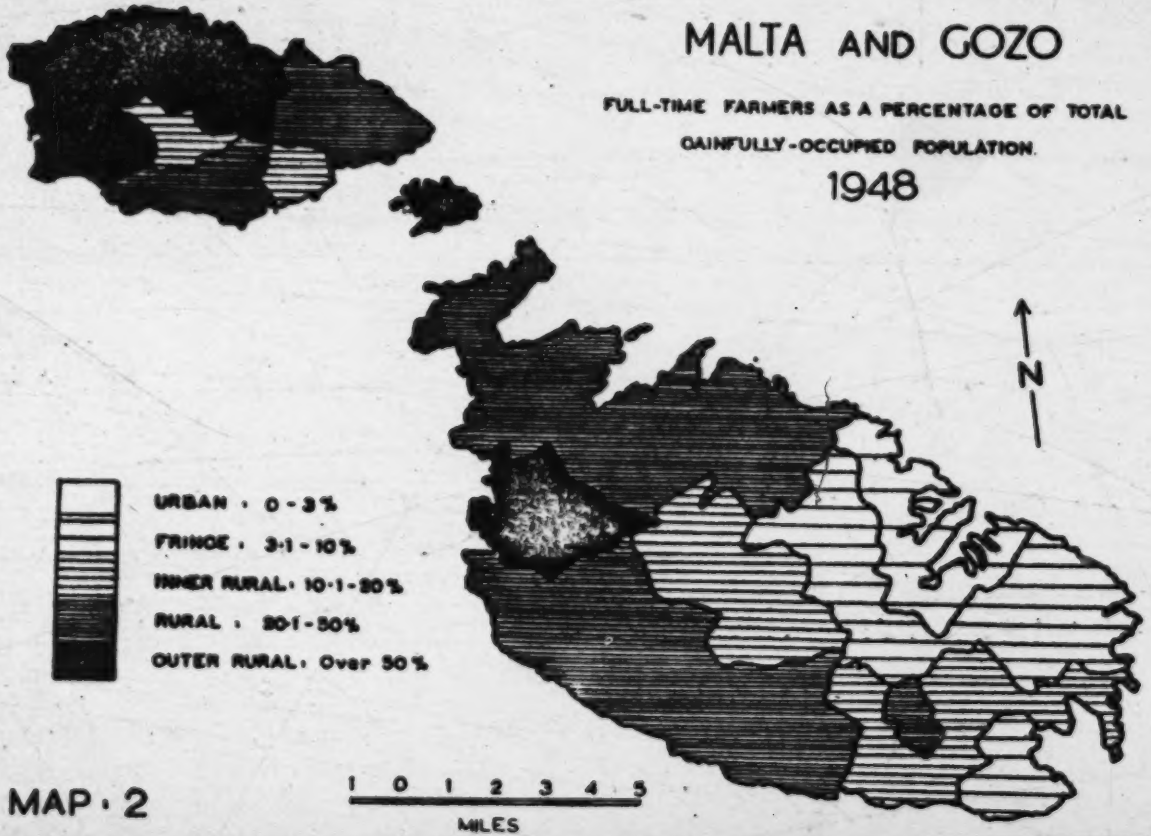
102
K43
1957

E: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

MALTA AND GOZO

FULL-TIME FARMERS AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1948



MAP · 2

[Following p. viii]

It has faded very rapidly
369 only in the course of the past generation in Malta to give
241 way to what may be called commercial farming in which crops,
433 animals or animal products are sold for money.

[178] By using the 1948 Census material (R/167 - 1948, Table 53)
162 it is possible to classify districts on the basis of the
463 proportion of the farming element within the 'gainfully-
634 occupied' section of the population as follows:

369 Table 1 (v. Map 2)

[127]

Urban (0-3%)		Fringe (3-10%)		Inner Rural (10-20%)	
Valletta	0	Balzan	5.48	Mqabba	10.5
Cospicua	0	Luqa	6.1	Marsaxlokk	10.6
Senglea	0	Birkirkara	6.16	Żurrieq	11.15
Vittoriosa	.008	Tarxien	6.43	Ghaxaq	11.29
Ghira	.11	St.Venera	6.46	Attard	11.53
Sliema	.24	Qormi	6.88	*Victoria	13
Floriana	.43	Birzebbuga	7.3	Mdina	15.4
Pawla	.8	Żabbar	7.35	Mosta	16.56
Marsa	1.2	Żejtun	8.27	Żebbuġ	18.41
Msarun	1.35	Lija	9.9	*Ghajnsielem	19.2
Msida	1.36			Gudja	19.91
Kalkara	1.84				
Pieta	2.6				
St. Julian's	2.9				

Rural (20-50%)		Outer Rural (above 50%)	
Qrendi	20.25	*Kercem	56.43
Kirkop	22.33	*Xaghra	64
Naxxar	24.8	*Ghasri	67.81
Rabat	25.6	*San Lawrens	68.3
*Xewkija	27.7	*Żebbuġ	70.9
Gharghur	29.1	Mgarr	73.3
Mellieha	34.73	*Ghasri	82.7
Siġġiewi	37.63	**Comino	89.47
*Sannat	39.04		
*Nadur	40.9		
Safi	46.87		
Dingli	47.4		
*Qala	47.6		
St. Paul's Bay	47.72		

Malta..... 9.11%
Gozo..... 41.78%
All Islands..... 12.28%

* - Gozo
** - The Island of Comino is statistically part of Gozo.

Clearly such proportional measurement is by no means an indisputable criterion for assessing the 'rurality' of Maltese and Gozitan villages but it provides a satisfactory overall basis for classification and is, as such, used in the ensuing account (Map 2).

184 Perhaps the most striking feature is the overwhelming
241 significance of agriculture in Gozo. In Malta, by contrast,
433 the Dockyard and other industrial concerns exert an
369 increasing pull towards non-agricultural employment in all
464 but the most remote districts (Map 4). Valletta and the Three Cities (Cospicua, Senglea and Vittoriosa) are the most 'urban', and the northern and western parts of Gozo the most 'rural'. An impression of the changing status of this rural (i.e. farming) element may be gained from the Census Reports since 1842 (R/167) but direct comparison is
178 hindered by differences of tabulation between the census
369 counts. However, the fact emerges that those villages
½ [i.e. peasant subsistence farming. Analyst]

178 possible for the young countryman to follow his economic
241 shift from country to town with a social transplanting out
369 of the close-knit community of the rural village to the
241 cosmopolitan levels of life in the towns.

Along with the increase of employment in the dockyard
433 and harbour there has been a relative decline in agriculture
178 in that an increase in the total numbers of the farming
464 community was accompanied by a shrinking of the agricultural
396 sector within the total gainfully occupied population of the
433 Islands. The Dockyard has grown to become the largest single
504 concern and, in March 1957[7], gave employment to 12,572 Maltese
369 workers (plus a further 417 United Kingdom nationals). The percentage of Dockyard employees in individual districts may be taken as a second possible criterion of 'rurality'. Appendix 2.A, showing Dockyard workers in March, 1957, expressed as a percentage of the employed population, reveals the heaviest concentration round the yards themselves (the Three Cities) and in the Żejtun, Żabbar, Pawla and Kalkara areas of south-eastern Malta. The whole of Gozo supplied only twenty-five workers at that time - this being the same figure as for Santa Vennera, near Hamrun. Nevertheless it is significant that no part of Malta is unrepresented in the Dockyard (Map 4).

464 The workers listed in Appendix 2.A are only a part of
36 those employed in the harbour area and the towns and it is to this group that one refers when speaking of the 'draw' of the harbour area and its associated manufacturing and service industries. These include transport of various kinds, shops, cafés and bars, workshops, offices and all manner of public utilities and services.

361 It is clear that in a definition of 'rurality' the
369 occupational structure, whether considered from a farming or
● 162 dockyard point of view, is not the sole criterion though the most convenient. One might take, for example, the extent to which each census district is built-over. The 1957 census distinguishes 'township' areas within each district (Appendix 3). The township-dwelling population accounts, as one would expect, for nearly 100% of the total in the Urban zone, but even in the rural districts most people are seen to live within the villages rather than in isolated farmsteads. In terms of area on the other hand the contrast between urban and rural zones is marked. In all three rural zones only five districts show a built-up township area accounting for more than 10% of the total. Richardson considers this nucleated-dispersed aspect of settlement distribution for 1948 and 1931 and notes significant changes in the pattern (R/561).

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MALTA AND GOZO

H.M.DOCKYARD EMPLOYEES AS PERCENTAGE
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION.

1957

MAP: 4

Following p. 57

6: Beeley K-5 (1957-1958) 1959 EZ6 Malta EZ6

735 families provides a most useful basis for a comparison.
747 The assessment included a scale of income and other wealth
434 and assets against family size. Thus a household of four
648 persons, in 1958, with a total income below £5 per week or a family of 16 receiving less than £6.6s would qualify for the free food[32].

162 The 6568 'poor and needy' families entitled on the
735 above basis to receive C.A.R.E. supplies[33] were classified by
434 place of residence (February, 1958)[34]. Households in which the breadwinner was a farmer or farm-labourer were, in addition, also listed separately. The residential divisions used were those demarcated in Section 1 on the basis of the farming (i.e. rural) element in the working population (Map 2).

TABLE 2

DISTRICT	A POPULATION[35]	B 'Poor & Needy' as % Population	C FARMERS[36]	D 'Poor & Needy' Farmers as % Farmers	E B/D
Urban Area	134,389	5.9	224	4.4	1.34
Fringe	83,898	8.6	1150	5.4	1.59
Inner Rural	41,955	9.4	1513	5.8	1.62
Rural	48,478	10.6	3404	9.1	1.16
Outer Rural	10,892	14.5	1522	21.8	0.67
Total	319,820	8.2	7813	9	0.9[illegible]

369 The figures in B and D illustrate the declining living
735 standards with distance from the Urban Area. Since, as
511 has been observed in Section 1, the rural community in Malta
162 and Gozo is based primarily on farming they therefore reflect the lower living standards towards the agricultural parts of Malta and, particularly, of Gozo. D and E show that the farmers in the Inner Rural and Fringe zones tend to be less poor than those in other districts, though in the Rural Zone they are nearer the general level (E). In the Outer Rural zone (most of Gozo, and Mġarr in Malta), however, the farmer is patently very much poorer (D) even than the general average for the zone (B) which is by definition the most dependent on agriculture. As a class, the farmers in this zone are one third below the general level as far as their standard of living is concerned (cf. the 0.67 under E).

The figures for the Urban Area reveal that although only 4.4% of these 224 farmers are poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. help (the lowest percentage under D) they are nearer the general level (B) than is the case in either the Fringe or the Inner Rural zones. The difficult position of these 'urban' farmers is exemplified by Case V.

The over-all averages show that the farmers, of whom 162 % were 'poor' by the C.A.R.E. definition, in 1958, are, as 735 a class, slightly poorer than the 8.2% average for the 511 whole population.

369 This pattern of comparatively low living standards in rural-agricultural Malta and Gozo is the essence of the problem with which this Section has been concerned. While [178] farming and inferior standards of life remain synonomous in the Islands the younger generation of the rural community will not be content to remain on the land.

SECTION 4 : The Farmer's Outlook and Attitudes.

178 The importance of the past in understanding the present 241 in Maltese agriculture has been emphasized. The change from peasant to commercial farming has been considered from its technical (Section 2) and its economic aspects (Section 3). The social background to this change is, however, no less important, particularly in so far as it relates to the work, thought and attitudes of a farmer who in fact is often little removed from the traditional when one penetrates a veneer of commercial profit-farming. Both among the literate and illiterate sections of the farming community this question of attitudes and outlook is of fundamental importance in any efforts towards improvements in Maltese agriculture.

619 The social environment of the Maltese countryman may be seen as three concentric circles, the family, village, and Malta. To the Gozitan who has never crossed the sea to Malta and to the old farmer who knows little of Valletta the concept of 'Malta' is something large and indeterminate. Even for the majority of the rural population, for whom Valletta and the towns are becoming a familiar part of experience, the Islands are large enough for them to feel none of the claustrophobia of which visitors to Malta 619 complain. The 'National' unit is big enough for the 829 farmer to speak of "Il-Gvern" - the Government of which he has heard frequently though imprecisely on all sides and on which he blames many of his economic and social problems. In this important concept of 'Gvern' no very clear distinction is made between the local Maltese authorities and the Imperial side of the Dyarchy[37]. Neither is allegiance to political parties very significant for personality is more important than party. Historically, this [648] attitude to a remote 'Gvern' probably descends from the tradition of rule in the Islands which has included foreign British government since 1800 and the paternal but rigid hold of the Knights of St. John during their previous two and a half centuries in the Islands.

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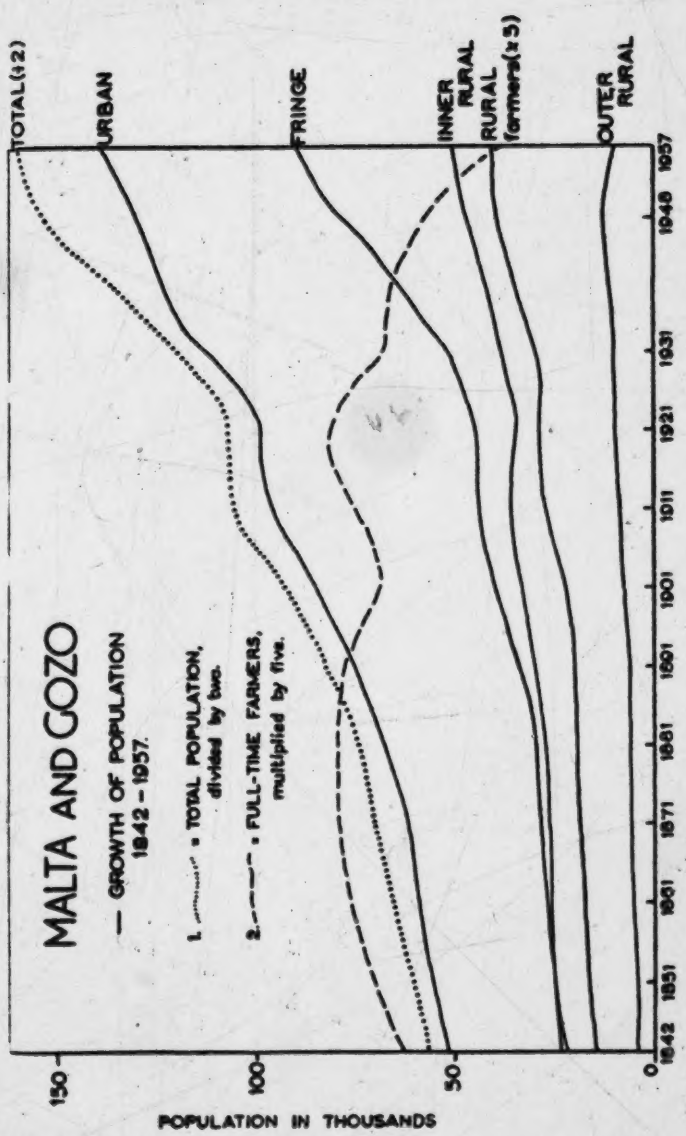

[following p. 72]

*159 433 451 land but maintains that it is becoming uneconomic because of high labour costs and difficulty of raising yields any further.

(iii) Makes careful practical distinctions between types of land:

*159 134 241
- some fields have 8 inches of soil on rock platform and these can only be worked by hand.
- deeper soils up to 3 feet thick need periodic deep plowing although this may result in the bringing to the surface of "newba" (or "melh" - salt) - sub-surface saline concentration with harmful results.
- red and white soils have different characteristics for tillage and crop-growth.
- notes the presence of a thin, very hard weathered layer on top of Globigerina bed rock. This "skorba tal-blat" is believed to prevent the movement of moisture from the rock water-table to overlying soil.

*159 159 626 (iv) In spite of literacy, general initiative and acumen he is conservative about trying new ideas. Here, as elsewhere, the chief obstacle appears to be social rather than economic - the fear of being different and the fear of failure in the eyes of the rest of the community.

*159 829 (v) In spite of (possibly because of) experience in check-weighing, is no more prepared to trust M.M.U. and official marketing agencies than any other farmer.

CASE XIII : Toni (A part-time arable farmer and caretaker of a military camp.)

*159 241 434 An example of part-time farming in which the field operations are the subsidiary part of the business - from the financial point of view though not as regards the amount of time spent on them.

His caretaking duties bring him some £5 per week for most of the year and yet leave him with enough free time to cultivate several irrigable patches near the camp. Now aged nearly seventy he works a much smaller total area than the thirty tmien of his younger days. He could in fact live on his income from his caretaking and continues to work the fields for four reasons:

(a) To provide food for his present family of three,
(b) To produce a supplementary income from the sale of cash crops,
(c) To occupy his time with the farming which he knows - as something of a hobby,
(d) To provide his emigrated sons each "with a piece of land" when they return to Malta for their retirement.

241 178 46 *[159] [369] [162] Items (b) and (c) reflect his independence of farming for the maintenance of himself and his wife and daughter, while (c) and (d) suggest that although farming ceases to be the countryman's livlihood he inclines to retain a residual interest in it even when he has been away from Malta for the greater part of his working life. This is a characteristic feature of rural Malta and an important aspect of the recent increase in part-time farming. The 1957 Census of Agriculture lists 9,588 part-time as against 7,813 full-time farmers (R/164, p.20). The trend towards part- in place of full-time farming is significant in the present overall retreat from agriculture. It represents in many cases a

[P. 141]

*159 554 [441] [511] Socially and economically this man is not a farmer. For two generations the machine importing and other business dealing of the family have given them something of a middle-class status in the village. Their standard of living and the house they occupy reflect their above-average prosperity while their literacy and foreign contacts have further enhanced their social standing.

PART 3. A Note on the Fishermen of Malta and Gozo.

226 463 The fishermen of the Maltese Islands deserve mention in this report as their position today has many points in common with that of the farmers.

226 463 162 A 1957 estimate put their number at 840 (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1). This represented about 1% of the total gainfully occupied population at the time and is equivalent to only 11% of the number of full-time farmers in the Islands, although only about half of the 840 appear to be full-time fishermen. "Many are engaged in the industry for part of the year only and they usually have an laternative occupation ashore" (B/250, p.13).

226 463 178 Burdon, in his 1956 report, sums up the present condition of the fishermen : "The most remarkable feature of the industry is the diversity of methods which individual fishermen use. Some fishermen are more advanced than others, but in general they are progressive and their knowledge of the local fisheries is extensive. Unfortunately they have little contact with the world beyond Malta and do not learn of new developments in fishing technique. This is aggravated by the comparatively low standard of education" (B/250, pp.13-14). [871]

The parallel with farming and farmers in Malta is clear. Burdon observes that recent developments "make it imperative that vocational training should be given to the fishermen. This must be simple in form and should be taken to the fishermen - i.e. the classes must be held in the fishing centres at times when the fishermen are available. But such measures are unlikely to meet with success if confined to the fishermen whose livelihood depends upon fishing whenever the weather permits. Special attention must, therefore, be paid to the children of the fishermen who will become the fishermen of tomorrow" (B/250, p.14).

226 463 871 829 [114] The present writer holds that the need for education in agriculture is exactly parallel to Burdon's recommendation. But, whereas a start on these lines has already been made in farming (Section 4), nothing has been done in the case of fishing, although the need for the technical education of the fisherman has been stressed since as long ago as 1931 (B/237, p.47). There are still no qualified Maltese skippers (B/250, p.14) and, for work in the more distant grounds off Lampedusa and Sicily, Italians are employed. They are regarded with some awe by local fishermen for their literacy, technical knowledge and the rather higher wages which they can command.

can command.

There has, however, been material help to fishing in the form of financial assistance[31] and the introduction of a Fishing Equipment Supply Service (B/177 - 1957, Section F, p.1), but the essence of the problem is, as in agriculture, that there is a retreat from fishing by the younger generation.

Marsaxlokk is the biggest fishing centre in the Islands while, in Malta itself, Żurrieq - though not a port - comes second by number of resident fishermen. In Gozo most fishermen live in Victoria and Xewkija, both inland settlements away from the fishing harbours of Marsalforn, Mġarr and Xlendi. Socially this residential distribution is important since only in Marsaxlokk is there a sufficient resident fishing population for one to talk of a 'fishing community'.

Marsaxlokk achieved parochial status in 1897 but the village is still without many 'modern' attributes such as cinema, resident doctor, barber and certain shopping facilities for which the fisherman goes to Żejtun. His interest is primarily the sea and many fishermen visit the 'town' only for the fish market. In Marsaxlokk itself the fishermen gather for Church and gossip on Sunday mornings; the rest of their weekly schedule is governed by the weather and the season.

As a class the fishermen and their families are economically lower than the farmers. In February, 1958, about 10.4% of the estimated 840 fishermen were poor enough to qualify for C.A.R.E. relief (v. Section 3). At the same time only 9% of farmers were entitled to supplies on the same basis, and the average for the total population was lower still at 8.2%.

The fisherman is regarded, even by the farmer, as low on the social scale. This, together with the generally depressed standard of living of the fishing community despite the present official financial assistance, is producing exactly the same position as in agriculture. The younger generation is not prepared to accept the industry as it is nor the way of life based on it.

SECTION 8 : Appendices

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APPENDIX 1 A : POPULATION

YEAR	All Islands	Malta	Gozo	Urban	Fringe	Inner Rural	Rural	Outer Rural
1957	319,620	292,019	27,601	135,390	83,898	50,002	40,438	10,892
1948	305,991	278,311	27,680	129,153	78,432	48,766	39,405	12,175
1931	241,621	217,784	23,837	114,198	51,387	36,780	29,502	9,776
1921	212,258	189,697	22,561	98,069	44,114	34,186	26,677	9,052
1911	211,564	188,869	22,695	96,147	43,902	36,346	28,696	8,572
1901	184,742	164,952	19,790	84,429	36,111	32,276	22,814	7,312
1891	165,037	146,484	18,553	75,377	33,142	30,012	20,521	5,985
1881	149,782	132,129	17,653	68,478	29,388	27,837	18,182	5,861
1871	140,883	123,492	17,391	61,782	28,567	26,719	18,020	5,795
1861	132,956	117,497	15,459	58,788	27,197	25,289	16,483	5,189
1851	123,498	108,833	14,665	54,885	24,800	24,200	15,880	5,061
1842	113,884	99,522	14,342	51,487	21,923	22,183	14,438	3,853
1828	114,236	98,618	15,618	-	-	-	-	-
1807	93,054	80,225	12,829	-	-	-	-	-
1741	15,032	13,309	1,723	-	-	-	-	-
1632	52,900	49,900	3,000	-	-	-	-	-
1530	29,869	25,000	4,691	-	-	-	-	-

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Sources : 1957 - R/168
1851 to 1948 (inc.) - R/167
1842 - R/166
1828 (estimate) - R/516, Vol.1, p.151
1807 (estimate) - R/86
1741 (estimate) - v.R/167 (1881, p.2)
1632 (estimate) - R/383, Vol.1, Chapter 8
1530 (estimate) - R/516, Vol.1, p.151 (after R/334)

Notes : (i) 1957 population figures by census localities (R/168) are given in Appendix 3.

(ii) See R/166, 167, and 168, for full statistics since 1842; see also R/581 for detailed analysis of population changes.

(iii) Some of the information in the above table is given in graph form.

(iv) See Map 3 for Population Density by Localities, 1957.

APPENDIX 1 B.

162 Occupational Structure of Population 1957 (B/177-1957).

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
A. Malta Government			
Administrative, Executive & Clerical	1800	300	1900
Professional & Technical	1920	1520	3440
Protective Social & other Services	2850	690	3340
Minor & manipulative Office Staff	930	70	1000
Trade Groups	7090	200	7290
TOTAL	14190	2780	16970
B. Service Departments			
Industrial	17260	380	17620
Non-Industrial	1720	220	1940
H.M. Forces	3550	-	3550
TOTAL	22530	580	23110
C. PRIVATE INDUSTRY			
Agriculture	6512	1301	7813
Fishing	820	20	840
Construction	4940	10	4950
Wholesale and Retail	7510	3100	10610
Transport	3250	120	3370
Food (except beverages)	1150	460	1610
Beverages	750	250	1000
Personal Service	2240	3250	5490
All other Private Industry	7590	2030	9620
TOTAL	34762	10541	45303
TOTAL GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION:	71482	13901	85383

NB - Total gainfully-occupied figures, by localities, are listed in Appendix 2 A.

407 (iv) MECHANISED EQUIPMENTS owned by farmers, 1956-57

IMPLEMENTS	MALTA	GOZO	TOTAL
Tractors - under 10 horse-power.....	15	11	26
Tractors - over 10 horse-power.....	28	8	32
Hand Cultivators - under 10 h-p.....	892	74	966
Hand Cultivators - over 10 h-p.....	54	19	73
Harvesting machines - under 10 h-p..	16	1	17
Harvesting machines - over 10 h-p..	1	-	1
Threshing machines - under 10 h-p...	2	-	2
Threshing machines - over 10 h-p...	13	4	17

162 241 (v) FARMING POPULATION. 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers.....	6,512	1,301	7,813
Part-time farmers.....	6,834	2,954	9,588
Farming population not in farming (over 14).....	5,777	14,694	20,471
Children (under 14).....	10,246	9,795	20,041
Total.....	29,169	28,744	57,913

46 241 (vi) DAYS WORKED on farms (in Man/days). 1956-57

	MALES	FEMALES	TOTAL
Full-time farmers.....	full	full	2,343,900
Part-time farmers.....	part	part	340,221
Hired labour.....	158,518	28,401	186,918
Unpaid farmers' relatives...	43,718	5,718	49,388

162 (vii) FARMERS as PERCENTAGE of Total Population. 1871-1957 (v.A)

	FULL-TIME FARMERS					as % TOTAL POPULATION				
	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957	1871	1901	1931	1948	1957
Urban	342	415	307	325	234	.55	.68	.37	.22	.17
Fringe	3923	2259	2181	1818	1150	13.7	5.9	4.26	2.1	1.37
Inner R.	5026	4224	3597	2404	1795	18.8	13.1	8.7	5.15	3.8
Rural	4858	4791	4802	4271	3133	27	21	15.6	10.8	7.8
Outer R.	1763	2200	3002	2806	1511	30	30	31	25	13.8
TOTAL	15910	13889	13889	11623	7813	11.3	7.8	5.15	3.7	2.48

NB: - Sources - 1957 full-time farmers (R/164 - 1957)
- 1957 Population (R/168)
- other data (R/167)
- See also Map 2, and Graph

162 46 241 (viii) PART-TIME FARMING (R/525, p.112)

	1901		1956
"Farmers".....	5038	Full-time Farmholders..	4706
"Part-time farmers"..	800	Part-time " ..	8337
		Other Farmholders.....	1368
TOTAL.....	5838	.....	11411
No. of Holdings.....	8178	.....	12640

(ix) FARM LABOURING (R/525, p.111): Farmholders, labourers, field workers as % total.

	1842	1861	1881	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
Farmholders %	27.2	19.7	17.1	20.2	19.1	37.4	36.4	47.9	41.1	47.3
Farmworkers %	71.8	78.4	80.9	88.1	79.8	61.4	60.4	51.4	58.9	51.1
Total workers %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
On land (000's)	12.8	13.4	10.8	15.9	18.0	15.8	13.9	15.2	16.3	13.7

APPENDIX 2 A : The Malta Dockyard, Employees by Locality of Residence, March 1957.

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LOCALITY	Maltese Workers	Gainfully-Occupied	%	United Kingdom Workers
Pawla	1,281	3115	38.8	20
Żejtun	995	3506	28.4	1
Żabbar	961	3461	31	1
Cospicua	960	2599	37	8
Hamrun	715	6594	11.25	5
Sliema	573	6860	8.6	232
Senglea	537	1408	38.1	17
Tarxien	487	2184	21.8	-
Vittoriosa	461	1216	38	4
Valletta	444	5927	7.5	2
Birkirkara	441	5128	11.8	5
Qormi	408	4401	9.3	-
Rabat	363	4293	8.7	1
Żurrieq	345	2154	16	-
Marsa	343	3023	11.4	-
Żebbuġ	248	2554	9.7	-
Msida	240	1725	13.9	15
Kalkara	218	616	35.4	3
Birżebbuġa	215	1285	16.7	1
Gżira	214	2214	9.6	26
Luqa	173	1263	13.7	-
Floriana	172	1755	9.75	5
Mosta	169	2412	7	1
St. Julian's	155	2153	7.2	44
Ghaxaq	154	836	18.5	-
Siġġiewi	148	1670	8.85	-
Gudja	104	514	19.9	-
Dingli	94	781	12	-
Marsaxlokk	83	484	17.2	-
Marsaskala	83	v.Żabbar		2
Pieta	79	1062	7.45	3
Balzan	76	761	10	10
Lija	75	685	11	4
Qrendi	73	768	9.5	-
Naxxar	72	1582	4.55	3
Mqabba	68	634	10.7	-
Attard	55	965	5.7	1
Kellicha	50	1279	3.9	-
Kirkop	50	372	13.4	-
Safi	29	257	11.3	-
Charghur	26	606	4.55	-
St. Paul's Bay	27	1027	2.33	3
GOZO	25	7893	0.32	-
Santa Venera	25	v.Hamrun		1
Mġarr	24	784	3.06	-
Mdina	11	v.Rabat		1
not known	61			-
	12,572			417

Notes - The distribution of Maltese workers as a percentage of total gainfully-occupied population by localities is shown on Map 4.

- Sources; see Note (7). Gainfully-occupied figures from B/160.

APPENDIX 3 - THE BUILT-UP AREA

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"A Township is the definite urban-type built-up nucleus of a census locality" (v. R/188, p.38). On this basis the 'township' area and population within each census locality may be distinguished:

CENSUS LOCALITIES	LOCALITIES		"TOWNSHIPS"	
	LAND AREA, sq. miles A	POPULATION. B	LAND AREA, as % of A.	POPULATION, as % of B.
Valletta	0.281	18,202	100	100
Cospicua	0.241	9,085	100	100
Senglea	0.057	5,085	100	100
Vittoriosa	0.205	4,242	100	100
Gżira	0.411	8,245	38.9	99.3
Sliema	0.485	23,389	100	100
Floriana	0.341	5,811	100	100
Fawla	1.086	11,434	24.6	100
Marsa	0.883	10,672	38.6	100
Hamrun	0.380	16,885	73.1	100
Msida	0.388	8,587	53.3	88.9
Kalkara	0.471	2,101	28.9	92.9
Pieta	0.200	4,076	78.5	100
St. Julians	1,635	8,285	17.9	70.8
Balzan	0.236	2,734	68.6	100
Luqa	1.812	5,582	5.6	91.2
Birkirkara	2.738	16,987	15.2	90.5
Tarxien	0.850	7,708	12.5	58.2
St. Venera	0.415	5,246	34.9	75.1
Qormi	2.412	14,889	9.9	95.6
Birlebbuja	2.994	5,297	4.7	88.1
Żabbar & M'skala	3.255	11,883	9.5	61.3
Żejtun	3.777	11,885	5.9	87.2
Lija	0.547	2,119	24.1	98.3
Mqabba	1.242	2,088	5	97.5
Kercaxlokk	1.952	1,489	1.9	82.9
Żurrieq	3.536	6,837	4.3	92.8
Ghaxaq	1.121	2,830	6.8	96.5
Attard	2.090	2,663	7.2	97.2
Victoria	1.835	6,357	19.6	97
Mdina	2.473	823	1.1	100
Mosta	1.900	7,377	14	97.9
Żebbuġ	3.187	7,089	10.2	98.7
Ghajnsielem	1.414	1,830	6.9	96
Gudja	1.709	1,712	2.8	97.4
Qrendi	2.587	2,185	2.2	97.7
Xirkop	0.717	1,304	6.3	100
Nadur	8.538	4,888	2.7	83
Rabat	8.048	12,792	2.9	82
Xewkija	1.288	3,281	12.9	99.9
Gharghur	2.023	1,813	2	87.3
Hellicha	7.808	4,299	0.9	71.9
Siġġiewi	8.230	5,065	3.4	96.4
Sannat & Munxar	2.167	1,456	4.9	99.8
Nadur	2.487	4,136	7.8	96.7
Safi	0.447	708	10.1	97.7
Dingli	3.674	2,041	1.7	68.5
Qala	2.218	1,816	3.8	96.8
St. Paul's Bay	5.630	3,048	2.1	72.5
Kerċem & St.Lucia	2.442	1,272	4	100
Xagħra	4.454	4,856	5.8	87.9
Gharb	2.043	1,309	3.2	87.3
San Lawrenz	1.358	428	3.4	89.2
Żebbuġ	2.778	1,190	4.4	85.1
Kjarr	5.806	2,187	0.8	31.2
Ghasri	1.432	471	3	41.2
Comino	1.075	30	0	0
Maltese Islands	121.880	319,830	7.8	91.1
Malta	98.878	292,819	8	90.8
Gozo	20.974	27,891	5.9	83.6

NB: - Information from R/188. Table P IIIb).

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APPENDIX 4 : The LAY APOSTOLATE

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Of the more than two dozen movements which now form the Lay Apostolate in the Maltese Islands (v.B/91) five of the more prominent organizations are shown in the table by their present distribution and by the date, where known, of their foundation in each parish. Numbers of confraternities and third orders, and numbers of churches in each parish are also included.

Malta Catholic Action - Young Men..... CY
" " " - Young Women..... CG
" " " - Men..... CM
" " " - Women..... CW
Society of Christian Doctrine (M.U.S.E.U.M.) - Men..... MM
" " " " " - Women..... MF
Legion of Mary, number of Praesidia in each parish..... LM
Holy Name Society..... AM
Young Christian Workers..... YCW
Confraternities and Third Orders..... Co
Churches..... Chs
Date of foundation of Parish..... Date
Parishes where a movement has no branch..... .
" " " " " a branch but date of its appearance in that parish not known..... B

In CY, CG, CM, CW, MM, MF, AM, YCW, numbers (e.g. 38, 10) indicate date of appearance of branch (i.e. 1938, 1910, etc.)

No information..... ?

IB - Information derived in large part from B/91.
- List arranged by increasing size of farming element of the working population (v. Section 1).

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PARISH	Date	CY	CG	CM	CW	MM	MF	LM	AM	YCW	Co	Chs
Valletta 1	1585	B	25	58	B	10	10	2	55	55	11	8
" 2	1587	B	B	B	B	B	.	10	.	B	6	10
Cospicua	1584	31	48	57	.	08	08	.	.	58	8	8
Senglea	1581	30	.	30	.	18	B	1	.	.	B	4
Vittoriosa	1090	B	B	B	B	B	B	.	B	.	7	8
Cospicua	1913	37	39	45	43	33	10	4	40	.	2	3
Siema 1	1878	32	31	33	58	.	.	B	B	.	4	3
" 2	1918	.	B	58	B	.	.	2	.	.	2	3
" 3	1940	41	55	41	B	B	B	10	.	B	3	5
Floriana	1844	27	B	50	53	07	26	3	36	B	5	4
Pawla	1910	28	B	28	28	10	10	4	48	48	3	4
Marsa	1913	B	B	B	B	00	00	1	.	51	.	3
Hamrun	1881	26	34	42	47	07	12	7	32	40	.	7
Naida, Pieta	1887	31	31	56	.	00	00	2	B	B	4	4
St. Juliens	1891	48	44	48	48	?	.	3	.	.	5	3
Balzan	1855	B	58	31	57	B	B	4	B	.	4	?
Luqa	1634	51	51	51	.	B	.	.	.	.	4	?
Birkirkara	1436	32	7	B	57	B	B	8	31	48	8	10
Tarxien	1592	37	B	7	.	00	.	3	.	.	5	4
St. Venera	1918	48	37	46	50	34	34	1	.	.	2	4
Qormi 1	1438	B	B	.	B	?	?	.	.	.	7	8
" 2	1935	35	35	57	.	14	?	?	30	B	3	3
Birkebbuga	1913	?	?	44	.	37	24	.	31	.	1	7
Zabbar	1615	48	48	48	52	00	.	5	47	.	6	3
Marsaskala	1949	.	.	.	.	45	45	.	49	.	1	1
Zejtun	1436	52	35	B	55	12	B	.	B	55	5	7
Lija	1594	B	50	58	.	52	53	2	29	.	3	5
Mqabba	1598	.	.	.	.	32	33	5	32	.	4	?
Marsaxlokk	1897	.	58	.	.	50	50	.	52	.	2	?
Zurrieq	1436	32	30	47	40	26	28	.	29	54	6	7
Ghaxaq	1828	.	.	.	.	56	07	.	B	B	3	4
Attard	1575	.	.	B	.	21	21	2	.	.	4	7
Mosta	1808	B	B	44	49	B	B	5	.	48	B	7
Zebbug(M)	1436	32	33	44	49	11	15	.	28	.	7	10
Ghajnsielem	1855	B	B	.	.	.	B	1	.	.	2	4
Gudja	1436	.	45	.	51	15	15	.	35	.	4	4
Qrendi	1818	B	B	.	.	B	B	.	B	.	5	7
Kirkop	1882	48	48	.	.	52	.	.	44	.	3	?
Hamrar	1436	47	49	B	.	26	31	1	26	48	8	5

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PARISH	DATE	CY	CG	CN	CW	MN	MF	LN	AN	YCW	Cs	CHs
Rabat*	1902	33	33	57	.	33	37	8	28	56	15	17
Xewkija	1678	33	33	.	.	0	0	2	0	.	2	2
Gharghur	1598	0	46	58	57	0	33	.	32	.	6	6
Mellieha	1841	54	48	57	54	.	44	3	0	52	4	3
Siġġiewi	1436	32	0	38	.	26	38	.	0	48	6	.
Sannat	1688	.	32	30	.	50	.	1	.	.	2	1
Nadur	1688	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	0	.	3	3
Safi	1598	?	54	.	56	.	0	.	37	54	3	2
Dingli	1678	48	.	.	.	36	36	.	32	.	2	2
Qala	1872	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	.	.	3	2
St. Paul's Bay	1905	46	.	0	42	.	46	2	.	.	4	7
Kerčem, St. Lucia	1885	0	0	29	0	.	.	1	47	.	2	2
Xaghra	1688	0	0	.	.	.	.	2	0	.	3	4
Gharb	1679	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
San Lawrenz	1893	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Żebbuġ(G)	1688	.	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	1
Mġarr (M)	1898	0	0	0	0	.	.	.	.	.	3	1
Ghasri	1921	.	.	40	.	.	.	.	27	.	2	2
Nunwar	1957	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	1	1

Mdina (A.D. 80) 1090 - Co-Cathedral of Malta (with St. John's, Valletta).
Cathedral of Gozo (at Victoria).

* - separated from Mdina, 1902.

9: Luke G-5 (ca. 1920-ca. 1960) 1960
EZ6 Malta EZ6

desperately to drive out the Knights of S. John as over forty years previously he had driven them out of Rhodes. But he was now concerned with a wider issue than that of blunting once more that spearhead of the Church militant: he had grasped the point that Malta as his advanced naval base would make him the master of the entire Mediterranean. Even more fully, and for a short time successfully, was the point grasped by Bonaparte, who saw in Malta not only the naval base indispensable to the command of the Mediterranean but a vital link in the route to a farther East than Phœnician or Roman had known. Thereafter neither William II nor the Axis dictators had anything fresh to learn on the subject. Malta's strategic rôle had become a postulate.

3

At the beginning of 1959 the Maltese archipelago had an estimated population, formidable for its size, of 323,629 souls (exclusive of the personnel of the armed Services), to which Gozo contributed 27,846 and little Comino 30. That is to say that it contains close on 2700 people to the square mile, which makes it one of the most densely populated geographical units in the world. The figure would have been higher but for considerable post-war emigration to Australia and elsewhere. But if, even so, it is high when measured by the area of 121 square miles[1] on which it has to live, it is small for a separate nation. For the Maltese are a nation unto themselves, with their own language, their own traditions, their own physical characteristics and a history that is one of the longest to which any existing people can lay claim.

For some reason hitherto unexplained it was in Malta and Gozo that the art of building in remote Stone Age days reached a development of skill and refinement unknown in other centres of the megalithic and neolithic worlds. Malta was already, therefore, an ancient centre of civilization when

[1] *I.e.*, about five-sixths of the area of the Isle of Wight.